

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



London :

MDCCCLXXXVIII.

82-2

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

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FOR THE
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
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EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

1888.



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PREFACE.

THE FORTY-FOURTH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains thirty-nine of the most important papers read before the recent Congress at Liverpool during the summer of 1887 and during the past session of the Society in London, 1887-8. The controversy respecting the age of the city walls of Chester—a subject upon which, even now, the last word has not yet been said—has contributed much literature to archæology, and some interesting papers on this subject will be found in the present volume. The year which has just closed has not been marked by any remarkable discoveries in the domain of British archæology; probably the most important example of ancient fine arts rescued from oblivion is the elegant Roman equestrian figure which supplies the frontispiece to this book. The sculptured *bas-relief* of the DEÆ MATRES found at Carlisle—a district astonishingly fertile in Roman vestiges—also possesses a prominent claim upon our notice. Two papers on churchwardens' accounts testify to the increasing interest attached to this class of records, which let in so much light upon the manners and customs of the middle ages in England.

The researches of our contributors have been spread, as usual, over wide fields; they have ranged from pre-historic flint-chips to the historical relics of the Queen of Scots; from an obscure passage in a classical author to a laundry-bill of the seventeenth century. Christian archaeology—long time neglected and despised, in deference to the stronger attractions of Roman and Celtic antiquities—appears now to be demanding a larger share of our antiquarian attention: and the suggested Museum, of which a plan is offered, would give, if it could be carried out, an invaluable impetus to the study of the beautiful crosses and sepulchral stones of this class which would bring them into the first rank of monuments. Already some of our leading members have moved in this matter.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

31 December 1888.

FIG.1.
ROMANO - BRITISH DEITY

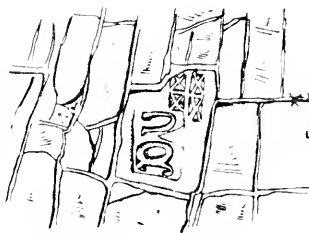
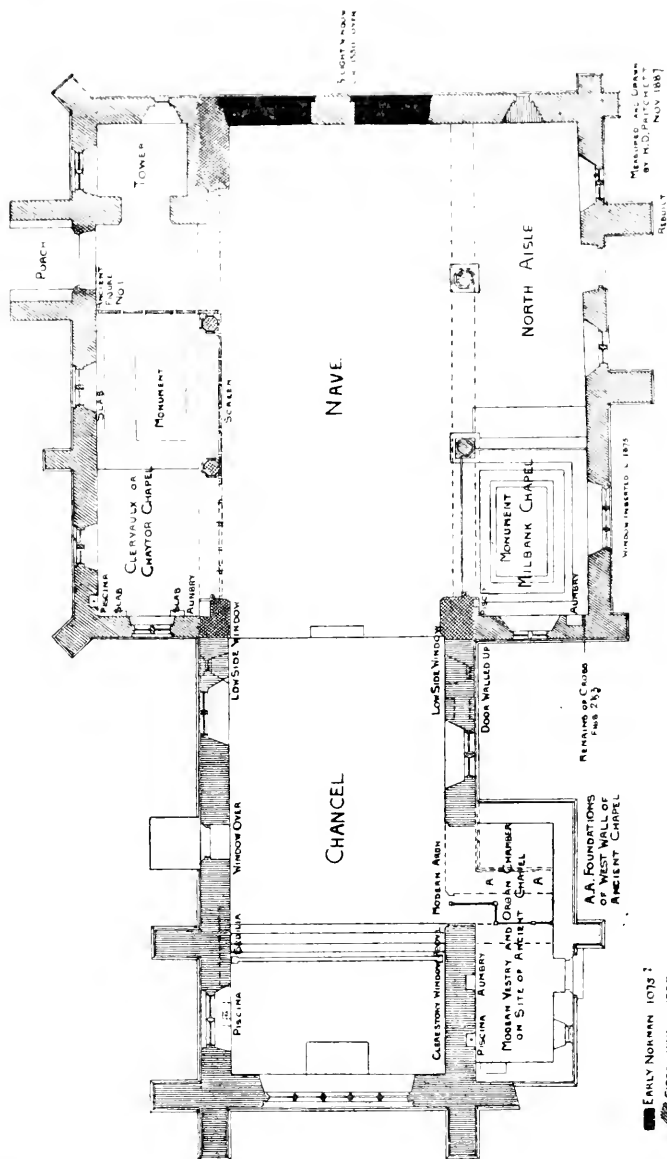


Fig. 10

X JAMB OF EARLY WEST DOOR
AND GRAVE COVER WALLED IN

TO ILLUSTRATE PAPER ON PAGE 24J



EARLY NORMAN 1075 :
CIRCA 1190 - 1225
• 1300 1325
• 1350



British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA (but see next page). The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Another Index to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1887-88 are as follow:—1887, Nov. 16, Dec. 7. 1888, January 4, 18; Feb. 1, 15; March 7, 21; April 4, 18; May 2 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 16; June 6.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,¹—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.

¹ Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen¹ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen² other Associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday in May³ in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

¹ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

² Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

³ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857 NORWICH . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY . . .	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBURY
1859 NEWBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, Bt.
1868 CIRENCESTER . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE LORD LYTON
1870 HEREFORD . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL . . .	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM . . .	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877 LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN . . .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1887-8.

President.

SIR J. ALLANSON PICTON, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; G. TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

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CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.
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H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., P.S.A.
A.W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A. F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J.O.H. PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. PREB. H.M. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.
JOHN WALTER, Esq.
GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road,
Streatham Hill, S.W.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W.

Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum, W.C.
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OPENING ADDRESS AT THE LIVERPOOL CONGRESS, 1887.

BY SIR JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Allow me, in the first place, to express my sense of the honour conferred in electing me to the office of President of the British Archaeological Association for the current year. To occupy the chair which has been filled by eminent statesmen such as the late Earl of Iddesleigh, and by distinguished scholars such as Bishop Basil Jones of St. David's, and Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, might well satisfy the ambition of men of much higher pretensions than myself. Their addresses, at the Congress at Exeter in 1861, at Tenby in 1884, and at Darlington in 1886, are on record, and will well repay perusal. I will endeavour, so far as practicable, to follow in their footsteps. My position on the present occasion is not entirely novel. As Vice-President it fell to my lot to deliver the opening addresses at Plymouth in 1882, and at Brighton in 1885.

When the proposal of an archæological congress at Liverpool was first propounded, it was received in some quarters with a smile of incredulity, almost of contempt. What, it was asked, could there be in common between a city of mushroom growth, all whose energies are absorbed in ships and cotton, corn, sugar, timber, and tobacco, with the stately remains and venerable traditions of ancient and mediæval England?

The question is a natural one; but it is not difficult to

answer. More than forty generations have passed since our Anglo-Saxon forefathers first planted the sapling which has borne such goodly fruit; and within this long interval there has been no period which has not been distinguished by events having an important bearing, both locally and nationally, on the progress, fusion, and development of the English character and English institutions. A large portion of these events has left visible memorials behind, and many others lie embedded in our traditions, laws, manners, and customs, which it is the province of the archaeologist to bring out and illustrate.

Sterne has said, "I pity the man who can travel from Dan to Beersheba, and cry, 'Tis barren'; and so is all the world to him who will not cultivate the fruits it offers." Every portion of the soil of England is saturated, so to speak, with memories of the past, with stories of heroism and daring, of resistance to oppression, and defence of the right. The stately cathedrals, the crumbling remains of the Norman and Plantagenet fortresses, the revived glories of Alnwick or Raby, the venerable moated manor-houses scattered over the land, the quaint street perspectives of Tewkesbury, Ledbury, or Chester, the elegant church architecture of the eastern counties, and the innumerable village churches nestling amidst their ancestral yews and elms,—these all present pictures and kindle associations which, to use the words of Johnson, "withdraw us from the power of our senses, make the past and the distant predominate over the present, and advance us in the dignity of thinking beings."

In applying these remarks to Liverpool and its neighbourhood, I may observe that, although the visible remains of antiquity are not numerous, some of them are of great interest, and carry us back to periods beyond the reach of historical research. Our Congress is that of an Association for the study of archaeology, which, I suppose, is distinguished from the study of palæontology by its limitation to what concerns the human race. But there are cases in which the two departments are conterminous, or rather overlap each other, and where the events in the one cannot be understood without reference to the changes in the other. This, I think, will be found to be the case in the district with which we have to deal.

I propose, in the following remarks, to place before you a general synoptical view of what will be brought under your notice during the sittings of the Congress; not entering into detail, nor forestalling the papers which I trust will be forthcoming, referring to the various objects of interest within our purview, but rather as a skeleton list to be filled up as we proceed.

The sphere of our inquiries and observations during the present Congress will be found principally, though not exclusively, to lie in the vicinity of the estuary of the Mersey, which has been the vivifying source of the commercial progress and prosperity of the district; and here, at the outset, we are launched upon a field of inquiry which carries us back into the prehistorical ages, where, in the absence of documents, we have to grope our way in the dim twilight of tradition, and to draw our inferences from the visible phenomena presented to our observation. Dogmatism would here be out of place. We have to tread cautiously, and to frame our conclusions with modesty and reserve.

The Mersey has been, from the earliest ages, the dividing line between two very important districts of England. When the Romans first penetrated into the country, the northern bank was occupied by the Brigantes, and the southern by the Cornavii, two of the most powerful Celtic tribes. Under the Roman dominion the Mersey separated the two provinces of Maxima Cæsariensis to the north, and Flavia Cæsariensis to the south. During the Saxon period the northern merged into the province or sub-kingdom of Deira, whilst the southern side formed part of the province of Mercia. The estuary has ever since maintained its character as indicated by its Saxon name, *Mere-sea*, "the boundary water".

Now the first thing which strikes us in reference to the history of the estuary is the fact that all the other rivers along the west coast, the Conway, the Voryd (or Clwyd), the Dee, the Ribble, the Lune, have Celtic or Cymric names. The Roman geographers, Ptolemy and Antoninus, give these names in a Latinised form. The Mersey is not mentioned by them at all, and it has no Celtic name. Supposing the estuary had at that time existed in its present shape, such an omission would be

unaccountable. We are, therefore, drawn to the conclusion that subsequent to, or during the latter part of, the Roman dominion, a serious change must have taken place in the physical features of the locality. These features themselves bear similar testimony. That there has been a considerable depression of the land along the coast is manifest upon very slight investigation. The submarine forests which extend below high water mark on both sides of the estuary, with stumps of trees *in situ*, many bearing marks of the axe; the recorded inroads of the sea upon the land, which formerly stretched much further to the westward; the fact that a large portion of the peninsula has to be protected from submergence by a costly embankment; with other circumstances which cannot here be detailed, unite to prove that the level of the land has undergone material alterations.

It has hence been inferred that previous to this change the channel of the Mersey formed a freshwater lake extending from Runcorn Gap to Seacombe, fed by the waters of the Irwell and the Weaver, the overflow discharging itself through Wallasey Pool and across a wide extent of marshy land into the sea, not far from the present *embouchure* of the Dee. This seems to be confirmed by the place-name, "Walla's-ey" or island, given to the rocky eminence where the church now stands. The depression of the coast, which admitted the sea into the lake, giving a new outlet, such portion of the marshes as was above the sea-level would naturally silt up in the course of time, and become dry land.

To what race the earliest inhabitants of the district belonged we have no satisfactory evidence. Such relics as we possess seem to point to the pre-Celtic period; most probably to the neolithic age. In the year 1867 an ancient cemetery was discovered at Wavertree, near Olive Mount, in which were found a number of earthenware urns containing ashes and burnt bones. In 1859 a tumulus was opened at Winwick, between Newton and Warrington, from which similar urns were unearthed, containing burnt bones and stone implements.

Another relic of the primæval period is the circle of unhewn stones, about four miles from Liverpool, called the "Caldrestones", which, though not of large dimen-

sions, is of a very interesting character. The circle stands at the intersecting point of the three townships of Wavertree, Woolton, and Allerton. The name *Caldar* is evidently a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *galdor*, sorcery, enchantment. The rough Teutonic warriors, whose superstitions were of a different character, would be awed by the mysterious Druidical rites associated with the stone circle, and would naturally ascribe them to witchcraft. These stones offer a very remarkable example of the cup and ring sculptures which have so much perplexed the antiquaries to account for and explain.¹

In the dawn of history, during the Celtic occupation, the soil was comparatively barren, and the population sparse. There are no visible remains of this period, and the evidence of place-names is very restricted. We find two cases of *Ince* (Ynys), island; *Bryn*, an eminence; *Llandican*; *Knock-torum*; *Dore* (Dhu). It is probable that the Saxons, on their arrival, found the district, to a great extent, waste. Several circumstances seem to lead to this conclusion. The counties of Norfolk and Lancaster are nearly equal in area. When they were divided into hundreds and parishes (probably about the end of the ninth century), some proportionate reference must have been made to the number of inhabitants. Norfolk is divided into thirty-three hundreds and six hundred and sixty-six parishes. Lancaster has only six hundreds, and sixty-six original parishes.

Again, the frequent occurrence, in the names of places, of the terms "Moss", "Moor", "Wood", "Carr", indicate a large extent of waste or uncultivated land.

There is no record of the date of the Saxon or Angle conquest of this district, but it most probably occurred during the latter part of the sixth century, under Ethelfrith, King of the Northumbrians. The settlers gave to the localities the usual Saxon nomenclature. There are the *tons*, the *hams*, the *burys*, the *leys*, the *ings*, the *worths*, etc.

¹ The late Professor Sir J. Simpson, of Edinburgh, wrote, in 1865, an article on this subject, which will be found in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. xvii. He carries back the origin of the Calderstones to a very remote antiquity, ascribing them to a Turanian race which preceded the advent of the Celts or Cymry.

We have not many remains which can be traced to Anglo-Saxon times. Oswald, who reigned in Northumbria from A.D. 634 to 642, had a palace or stronghold at Winwick, near which he was defeated and slain by Penda, King of Mercia. This is commemorated by a mediæval inscription on the church of Winwick.

King Edward the Confessor possessed a castle at West Derby, about four miles from Liverpool, the site of which is still designated the Castle Hill.

The arrival of the Danes, and their settlement in this district, on both sides of the estuary, had an important influence on the history of the locality, and forms a very interesting subject of inquiry. Little is said about it in our annals; but by a careful comparison of the various sources of information it is possible to put together a connected narrative of the circumstances.

The Danes first appeared in English waters A.D. 787, when they harried the southern coast. After a century of plunder they began to settle in the land, working their way westward and northward from the east coast. In 868 they had partially accomplished the conquest of Mercia, and established their headquarters at Nottingham. In 877 the Danish fleet went west about, and plundered the coast of Wales. The tide of conquest then set in from the north by sea. The Hebrides, or Western Islands, the Isle of Man, and a considerable portion of the east and north of Ireland, were captured by the Northmen. It is probable that the Danish settlements in the estuary of the Mersey date from this period, about the latter end of the ninth century.

The *Saxon Chronicle* gives a very graphic narrative of the proceedings of the Danes in this district at that time. Under date A.D. 894 we read that "the Danes in East Anglia made a forced march across the country to reach their brethren in Cheshire." The record states that having committed their wives, their ships, and their booty to the East Angles, they marched on the stretch, day and night, till they arrived at a western city in *Wirheal* that is called *Chester* (*Lega-ceaster*). "There the army could not overtake them ere they arrived within the work. They beset the work without for two days, took all the cattle that was thereabout, slew the men whom

they could overtake without the work, and all the corn they either burned or consumed with their horses every evening. That was about a twelvemonth since they first came hither over sea."

There is a singular reminiscence of this expedition in the name of *Knutsford*, or *Cnutsford*, in Cheshire. This is evidently of Danish origin, yet it occurs in the midst of a purely Mercian or Anglian district. It lies, however, in the direct track followed by the Danish forces, and doubtless commemorates the fording of a small stream, probably in flood, by the army under the command of *Knut*, a Danish chief,—not, of course, the great King Knut or Canute.

The next year, A.D. 895, the *Chronicle* informs us "the Danes went from *Wirheal* into North Wales, for they could not remain because they were stripped both of the cattle and the corn they had acquired by plunder. They then went again out of North Wales with the booty they had acquired there, and marched over Northumberland and East Anglia, so that the King's army could not reach them till they came into Essex eastward."

About this time a very remarkable woman exercised an important influence in this part of the country. This was Ethelflæda, the "Lady of Mercia", daughter of King Alfred, the wife (and afterwards widow) of Ethelred, Eorldeorman of Mercia. The peninsula of Wirral, in Cheshire, and the district between Chester and Runcorn, on the Mersey, formed a sort of debatable battle-ground between the Saxons, the Danes, and the Welsh, as the Britons began now to be called. At the end of the ninth century the Britons had been pretty well driven beyond the Dee. The operations of King Edward the elder were ably assisted by his sister Ethelflæda, who restored the city of Chester, which had remained waste and desolate for three hundred years, extending its area and rebuilding the walls.

In 910 several important conflicts took place. The Danish army advanced westward to plunder, and were met by the Saxons at a place called in the *Chronicle* *Tootenhall*, which has been by some identified with *Tettenhall* in Staffordshire, but which corresponds more clearly with *Tattenhall* in Cheshire, which lies directly

in the track of the Danish army, which here met with a decisive repulse. A few months afterwards another conflict took place, in which the *Chronicle* states that two Danish kings, two jarls, and other distinguished men fell, besides some thousands of their followers.

Ethelfleda, to secure her possessions, erected several fortresses: one at Runcorn, on the Mersey; another at Thelwall, near Warrington, to defend the passages over the river; and one at Warburton, in the direct track of the Danish invaders.

The land then had peace for seventy years; but in A.D. 980 we read that the coast of Cheshire was plundered by the Danes; and in 997, for the last time, North Wales was ravaged by a piratical attack.

During this period the Danish nomenclature and institutions were becoming established in the district, which constituted an isolated Danish colony, separated from the eastern, midland, and northern Danes by intermediate districts purely Saxon. It is not difficult to trace their course.

They must have arrived by sea, and have left their mark in the names given to the salient points along the coast,—Orme's Head, Carnarvonshire; Worms Head, Glamorgan; the islands of Bardsey, Ramsey, and Caldey; the Nase; Stackpole; the Skerries rocks; the Point of Aire; Linney Head, with others. The Isle of Anglesey and the Isle of Man were both originally called Mona, the modern name having been given to the former by the Danes to distinguish it as the island attached to the Angles.

These invaders must have made the estuary of the Mersey their line of disembarkation, and thence have spread from each shore, north and south. Evidence of this is manifest from various sources. Had they formed a single column, from whatever point they had advanced, they would, like their predecessors, the Saxons and Angles, have marked their course by the nomenclature of their settlements. This they have done; but the peculiarity in this case is, that the place-names are to a great extent duplicated, the same occurring on both sides of the Mersey.

The *Thing-Wall*, the hill of counsel, the place of

assembly, where the laws were made and promulgated, and the armed forces mustered, has its representatives both in West Derby and Wirral, where the eminences are still to be seen crowned, one by a windmill, the other by a modern mansion.

The isolation of this Danish colony will be manifest on a comparison of the place-names. In South Lancashire the Danish names principally occur in the Hundred of West Derby. Going northward, in the Hundred of Leyland they are almost entirely wanting. Amounderness and Lonsdale are Danish; and as we proceed into Westmoreland and Cumberland, the names of the parishes and villages are to a great extent Danish. Proceeding eastward from Cheshire, we find few or no Danish names in Staffordshire. In East Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire, which constituted the main portion of the ancient Danelagh, they are, as might be expected, predominant. The Danish names in Cheshire are principally found in the Wirral peninsula. Within these limits we find the suffix *by*, equivalent to the Saxon *ham*, such as Frankby, Pensby, Helsby, Formby, Whitby; the *dales*, Ainsdale, Skelmersdale, Birkdale; the islets, Wallasey, Bewsey, Sankey, Aldersey; the eminences, Childwall, Heswall, etc. Many of these Danish names are common to both sides of the Mersey, as Kirkby, Meols, Ness, Roby or Raby, Crosby or Greasby.

The Hundreds of West Derby in Lancashire, and Wirral in Cheshire, are of Danish origin. Derby (Dyr-by) is the home of the wild game. Wirral (Wir-hæl) is from *wir*, the sea, and *halla*, a slope, which describes the district sloping on one side to the Dee, and on the other to the Mersey. The term *Hale*, with a similar significance, is found in place-names in Lancashire and elsewhere.

The Saxon "hundred" was converted into the Danish "wapentake"; so called from the mode of acknowledging allegiance to the *thing*, or court, by touching the spear of the chief, fixed erect as a sign of authority. The Wapentake Courts in West Derby and Wirral were continued down to a recent period.

The most visibly prominent of the Danish relics hereabouts is the Great Stone of Thor, about eight miles from Birkenhead, and two miles from Thingwall, on an emi-

nence overlooking the Dee. The name of the place, "Thor-stane-ton" (corrupted into Thurstaston), is indicative of its origin. It is a huge, isolated rock of red sandstone rising in the middle of a natural amphitheatre of four or five acres, scarped into shape by human hands. It corresponds in every respect with the recorded customs of the heathen Danes in the festivities and sacrifices annually made in honour of the god of thunder. It is probable, however, that it was never completed. The conversion of the Danes to Christianity followed close upon their settlement in the latter part of the ninth century. The peace of Wedmore, between King Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish monarch, by which the Danes undertook to renounce heathenism, and enter the Christian Church, was agreed to in 880. Soon afterwards we find Christian churches rising up with Danish names attached, in close proximity to Saxon communities. Such are West Kirkby and Kirkby in Walley (now Wallasey), not far distant from Wood Church; and in Lancashire, Kirkby and Ormskirk, not remote from the Saxon Church Town.

I have, perhaps, extended to an unreasonable length these Danish reminiscences; but they are not generally noticed, and they throw considerable light on the early history of the district.

Of the period between the Norman conquest and the Reformation there are many remaining relics of interest to the archæologist. The soil not being fertile, and the inhabitants few in number, this neighbourhood cannot vie in its ancient remains with the eastern and southern counties, and the rapid rise of manufactures and commerce during the last century has led to the destruction of many.

At the parcelling out of the great Norman fiefs, the peninsula of Wirral was included in the grant to Hugh Lupus; and the Hundred of West Derby fell into the hands of Roger de Poitou, a member of the great family of Montgomery.

Domesday Book has no specific record under the head of "Lancaster-Seire". The southern part is included in "Cestre-Seire", under the heading, "Inter Ripam et Mersham". The northern portion forms part of Yorkshire, but the record is incomplete.

We obtain from this source a concise but graphic glimpse of the state of this locality about twenty years after the Conquest. We find that the extensive manor of *Derbei* (West Derby), with six *berewicks*, or outlying hamlets, had belonged to King Edward the Confessor, and rendered in farm a rent of £26 2s. Previous to the survey, the grant of Roger de Poitou had been forfeited to the Crown, which retained the fief in its own hands. The Hundred of West Derby was granted in fee to forty-eight thanes, all of whom were under a custom to render two *ores* of twenty-four pennies each for each carucate of land. The thanes all bear Saxon names. They were under an obligation, like the *villeins*, to maintain the King's houses, and the *hays* and *stands* in the wood. Whoever came not to these as he ought was fined two shillings, and afterwards had to come to the work until it was finished. Each of them sent his mowers one day in August to cut the King's corn. If any free man committed theft, or *forestel*, or *heinfare*, he was fined two shillings.

According to the *Domesday* record a considerable portion of this district was dense forest. In West Derby there was a wood six miles by three. In Latham, Mellington, Lydiate, Crosby, and Woolton, there were woods from three to six miles long by one and a half to three miles wide. In Cheshire such names as Woodchurch, Woodside, Birkenhead, and Holt Hill, indicate the existence of a large extent of timber. According to the old rhyme,

“ From Birket Wood to Hilberree
A squirrel might hop from tree to tree.”

Owing to the circumstances of the case, and the sparse population, there was no necessity for the means of defence adopted in more fertile districts.

We have no Norman feudal castles in this part of the country. Of Lancaster Castle little remains besides the entrance-gateway and the flanking towers. The Castle of Liverpool was erected by King John in the early part of the thirteenth century. It consisted of a number of towers or bastions connected by curtain-walls, surrounded by a deep fosse cut in the rock. It was demolished about 1721, and St. George's Church erected on the site. The

outline of the area is marked by the surrounding streets. Another fortified mansion, called "The Tower", was erected or fortified by Sir John de Stanley, the founder of the Derby family, in Liverpool, on the margin of the estuary. This was removed in 1819, and its place is now occupied by Tower Buildings. A castle was also erected by King John at Shotwick, on the Dee, to guard the passage into Wales, which has entirely disappeared.

The ecclesiastical remains in the neighbourhood are not remarkable for stateliness, but are interesting from their associations. The principal monastic establishment is the Priory of Birkenhead, founded about the year 1153 by Hamo de Massie, third Baron of Dunham, for sixteen monks of the Benedictine Order. The remains are still standing, and will form an interesting visit during the Congress. Priories also existed in Lancashire at Burscough, Holland, and Windleshaw, but have disappeared, leaving only fragmentary remains.

The churches are numerous, and many of them worth attention. In Wirral, Bebington Church is an interesting admixture of Norman and late Gothic. Woodchurch is an admirable specimen of a village church carefully maintained and lovingly preserved. West Kirkby, Heswall, and Eastham, will probably also be visited. On the Lancashire side there are several mediæval churches worthy of inspection. Sefton is a very complete example of late Gothic unaltered, with some good woodwork and a rood-screen. Ormskirk is remarkable for its duplicate steeples, a tower, and a spire side by side. Wigan has a fine old parish church with a grand tower. Childwall, Halsall, Aughton, Winwick, and Huyton, will probably attract your attention. The latter has a good specimen of a chancel-screen. At Lydiate will be seen an ecclesiastical structure commenced just previous to the Disso-lution, and never completed.

Of noblemen's mansions, Knowsley Hall, the seat of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, has many points about it worthy of notice. Old Lathom House, the seat of the heroic defence, during the civil wars, by Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, was taken down about 1724, and the present modern structure erected in its place. Croxteth, the mansion of the Molyneuxs, Earls of

Sefton, was erected about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Haigh Hall, near Wigan, the seat of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, is a modern mansion, which contained a rich and valuable library of rare and curious works, recently dispersed.

There are many manor-houses scattered about this part of the country which will well repay a visit. In Liverpool there formerly existed two,—the Old Hall, within the precincts, which gave its name to Oldhall Street; and Bank Hall, outside the town, of which Bank Hall Street is a reminiscence. Both belonged to the family of Moore, anciently De la More. Bank Hall was a mediæval, moated building extending round three sides of a court, with a fine hall. It was removed about 1774. Speke Hall, the ancient seat of the Norreys family, which will, I trust, be visited by the Congress, is one of the purest specimens of half-timbered, moated houses existing. The Mansion of the “Hutte”, belonging to the Irelands, in the same neighbourhood, has little left except the entrance-gateway and moat, with a few other fragments, which show it to have been an extensive and noble building. Hale Hall, the seat of the Blackburnes, is a quaint brick building, and is worthy of a visit on account of the neat, picturesque village attached. Lydiat Hall and Rufford Hall are also good specimens of the black and white architecture. Poole Hall, in Wirral, is an interesting example of a mediæval mansion in stone. Hooton Hall is a modern building occupying the site of a fine, old timbered mansion belonging to the elder branch of the Stanley family. The Hall, which has been unoccupied for some years, has many points worthy of inspection.

I have left to the last any notice of our place of meeting, an ancient town but a modern city. Much has been written about Liverpool, and the changes have been rung upon the theme of its wonderful progress from a small, obscure creek to the position of the foremost port in the world. I am not about to repeat the oft-told tale. As archaeologists we are not concerned with the extent of its commerce or the accumulation of its resources. Its early history, however, and its mediæval associations come strictly within the scope of our inquiries, and will

be found, on looking below the surface, to be fraught both with interest and instruction.

The city of Liverpool, to the outward eye, has little to interest the antiquary. There is not a building within its precincts two hundred years old. The scale on which it was originally set out was so circumscribed, its streets and ways were so narrow, and its buildings so mean, that as commerce developed, the destruction of the whole or a large portion of the original structures became absolutely necessary.

I have already mentioned the Castle and the Tower, both long since dismantled. The only other original building was the Parochial Chapel, now the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, erected in the fourteenth century. This was rebuilt in 1774, in the atrocious style of Batty Langley Gothic, leaving standing the tower and spire. In 1810 the spire unfortunately fell on a Sunday morning, burying in its ruins a large part of the congregation just assembled. In 1819 a new tower was erected, crowned with an open lantern, in a very satisfactory style of architecture.

The interest of a community is not limited to the outward and visible marks of its history. These decay and perish ; but the incorporeal elements, the civic laws and institutions, the manners and customs, the trade and commerce, the ecclesiastical and charitable foundations, the habits of daily life and social intercourse, if duly recorded, present a never-failing source of interest and instruction. Now it happens that the municipal records of Liverpool are exceptionally full and complete. From the time of its first charter, in 1207, down to the reign of Queen Mary, many documents exist throwing light on the progressive state of the community ; and during the last three hundred years a continuous contemporary narrative has been preserved, the greater part of which has been recently published. At the risk of being thought tedious, I will venture to make a few references to these, illustrative of the comparison between the past and present.

The foundation of Liverpool was owing to the conquest of part of Ireland by Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, in 1170, after which easy intercourse between the two

countries became desirable. In 1206 King John paid a visit to the locality, and in the following year he issued letters patent, of which the following is a copy :

“Johannes Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus fidelibus suis qui Burgagia apud villam de Liverpul habere voluerint, salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus omnibus fidelibus nostris, qui Burgagia apud Liverpul cep'unt, quod habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines in villa de Liverpul quas aliquis liber Burgus super mare habet, in terra nostra. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod secure et in pace nostra illuc veniatis ad Burgagia nostra recipienda et hospitanda. Et in hujus rei testimonium has literas nostras patentes vobis transmittimus. Teste Simone de Pateshill, apud Winton. xviii die Aug. anno regni nostri ix.”¹

This, though not, strictly speaking, a charter, is generally considered as the first of a long series by successive monarchs. They are all in good preservation, and will, by the courtesy of the Council, be submitted to your inspection. The burgages thus erected were one hundred and sixty-eight in number, and paid a ground-rent to the Crown of 1s. *per annum* each.

The customs' dues belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster, but were let out from time to time on fee-farm leases. Not unfrequently the retainers of the King were quartered upon these local revenues. Thus in 1372 there is a document in Norman French in which one Rankyn d'Ypres, a follower of John of Gaunt, is retained on the condition that “the said Rankyn, in time of peace, shall be at board at court and that he shall have and take for the term of his life, in the whole, twenty and five marks sterling from the farm of the town of *Liverpul*.”

The early charters and documents are, of course, in Latin ; but it is rather singular that during the reigns of

¹ John, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to all his liegemen who would desire to have burgages at the town of Liverpool, greeting. Know ye that we have granted to all our liegemen who may take burgages at Liverpool, that they may have all the liberties and free customs in the town of Liverpool which any free borough on the sea has in our land ; and therefore we command that securely, and in our peace, you may come to receive and occupy our burgages. And in testimony hereof we transmit to you these our letters patent. Witness, Simon de Pateshill, at Winchester, the 28th day of August in the ninth year of our reign.

Henry IV and V, half a century after Chaucer and Gower and Piers Plowman had established the English language practically in its modern form, many of the public documents are in the French language. In addition to the one already quoted, a petition in French was presented to Henry V, in 1414, by the burgesses of Liverpool, complaining that the officers of the county had infringed their local rights of jurisdiction, and praying for redress. The response is in French, as follows :

“Soit la matiere deing escript comys à conseil de Roi, et que mesme le conseil par auctorité du Parlement eit plein pouvoir de faire droit as suppliantz deing escriptz sur la contenue especifié en queste peticion.”

The mayoralty is first mentioned in the year 1356, when Richard de Aynsargh, then Mayor, gave land to found a chantry “to perform divine service every day for the souls of the faithful deceased, in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin and St. Nicholas in Liverpool.”

The early charters constituted Liverpool a free borough with a mercatorial gild, and a hanse and other liberties. The burgesses met in Common Hall for the transaction of business. To prevent disorder they appointed a committee, which by degrees expanded first into an elective council, and by usurpation into a permanent, self-elected, exclusive body, which so continued down to the date of the Municipal Reform Act.

Within the precincts of the borough the Corporation possessed considerable powers and privileges. They levied toll on all merchandise passing through the port, and during a long period farmed the Crown customs' dues. So long as they made their payments good, they were little interfered with, and enjoyed an amount of independence which has no parallel at the present day. A large part of the property and land belonged to them. They had the ecclesiastical patronage, appointing and dismissing the incumbents, the wardens, and other church officers. They claimed to regulate trade and commerce, and strenuously opposed the settlement of any stranger within their gates. The system of exclusion pursued rather tended to repel than attract trade. The “Hanse”, or trading body, included the whole of the freemen and burgesses, to whom any produce imported had first to be

offered. A value was put upon it by the prizers or appraisers. If the importers did not choose to accept the price so fixed, they had to bargain with the town as to what they should pay for permission to sell in the open market. Severe penalties were inflicted on any merchant or trader presuming to deal on his own account.

No wonder that under such rigid bondage the port did not prosper. In 1566 a pitiful petition was presented to Queen Elizabeth, in which sympathy is prayed for "her Majesty's decayed town of Liverpool"; but, strange to say, in the very same year the records contain a jubilant account of the festivities on the occasion of a visit from the Earl of Derby and other grandees, when it is said that "Mr. Mayor, his brethren, with the bailiffs and common burgesses, did present them with a banquet of delicious delicacies of two courses of service", etc.

The Corporation carried on their proceedings with a high hand. In mediæval days there was no Local Government Board to interfere with local affairs, and institute inconvenient inquiries. The only remedies for alleged grievances were a writ of *mandamus* when the Corporation failed in their duty, or a writ of *certiorari* when they exceeded it. They even claimed, in favour of their local court, exemption from the jurisdiction of the higher courts, and there are recorded instances in which they succeeded in establishing their claim. Their administration of justice was prompt and severe. Take, for instance, the following :—

1565, October 2nd. —One Thomas Johnson was apprehended for picking of purses. He does not appear to have had any regular trial, but was summarily dealt with as follows. He was first imprisoned several day and nights, then nailed by the ear to a post at the flesh-shambles, then turned out naked from the middle upwards, when many boys of the town, with withy rods, whipped him out of the town. He was then locked to a clog with an iron chain and horseblock till Friday morning next after, and then, before the Mayor and bailiffs, abjured the town, and made restitution of 6s. 8d. to one Henry Myln's wife.

The cuck-stool, as a punishment for female offences, and the cage and pillory for male misdemeanors, were in frequent demand.

In addition to civic duties, the Corporation had occasionally to take part in military demonstrations. In 1560 it was "found and agreed that every Mayor and Mayor's peer shall have and keep four honest and seemly bills, pole-axes, or like weapons; and every bailiff two bills, honest and able; and every burgess within the town one sufficient, able bill, pole-axe, or other like weapon." In 1567, on a levy of soldiers to reinforce the army in Ireland, the following notice was issued in Liverpool:—"Every one must have a cassock of blue watchet Yorkshire cloth, guarded with two small guards, stitched with two stitches of blue, apiece; a very good yew bow, and sheaf of arrows in case; a red cap, a stag or stirk buckskin jerkin, a sword-dagger, and every man to have 13s. 4*d.* in his purse."

In 1573 the Earl of Essex passed through Liverpool with his army, *en route* for Ireland, leaving a detachment in Liverpool, who appear to have conducted themselves in a most disorderly manner; the "motley coats" and the "blue coats" having quarrelled, and attacked each other ferociously with deadly weapons. The Mayor called out the trained bands, and the records state that "Mr. Mayor and all the town suddenly, as pleased God Almighty, were ready upon the Heath, every man with their best weapons; so as by good chance every householder being at home, Sunday morning, eager as lions, made show almost even like to the number of the captains and all their soldiers." This deterred the belligerents from proceeding further, and it is said, "after the battle-array Mr. Captain showed all gentleness and courtesy to Mr. Mayor, and came up to the town in friendship and amity."

The extent to which the authorities interfered with the intercourse of private life would not now be endured; but the result presents a vivid picture, in these records, of the state of society at that period, which is both valuable and interesting.

The presentments of the grand juries include almost every relation of society,—masters, servants, and apprentices, rates of wages, harbouring of inmates, charwomen, eavesdropping, slander, etc. The following is a not uncommon specimen:

"1651, March 31. Item, wee p'sent William Mee for saying and

curseing in open court, pointing his finger towards Mr. Maior and the Jurie, 'If such men as those can give anie judgment, the Divell goo with you and all the acts that you have done.' Amerced in five pounds."

These illustrative extracts might be multiplied *ad libitum*.

There is something very attractive in calling up before the mind's eye veritable pictures of the past, and setting before us our forefathers as they have presented themselves to our notice in their daily walk and conversation. In visiting the resuscitated streets of long-buried Pompeii, or treading the aisles of our ruined abbeys, we have before us daily haunts of society long passed away. Their thoughts, feelings, and associations we have to supply from our imagination. In the present case the converse operation takes place. We have the thoughts, feelings, words, and acts before us of the generation recorded by themselves. The local habitation has for the most part disappeared, but can equally be supplied from our mental resources.

There has been a prevalent though erroneous idea that archæological and antiquarian pursuits are dry, technical, and unimaginative. Sir Walter Scott, though himself an enthusiastic antiquary, has exhibited the ridiculous side in Dr. Dryasdust and Jonathan Oldbuck; and Robert Burns has indulged in a pleasant laugh at the expense of his friend, Captain Grose :

" He has a fouth o' auld nick nackets,
Rusty airn caps and jinglin' jackets ;
Wad haud the Lothians three in tackets
 A towmont gude ;
And parritch pats and auld saut-backets
 Before the flood."

Archæology can well afford to laugh ; in point of fact, there is no subject of human inquiry in which the imagination is more concerned. It realises the definition of poetry by Lord Bacon, that "it accommodates the shows of things to the desires of the mind"; it clothes the dry bones of history with flesh and blood ; it warms up a meagre outline with life and colour. We cannot, if we would, shake off the influence of the past. All the accumulated ages which have gone before have contributed

to mould the institutions of to-day into their present form. The root, the germ, the seed of the present is in the past, as the roots of the future lie in the present. Archaeological studies tend to preserve the continuity of our history, and exhibit the links which bind together the past, the present, and the future. This was never more necessary than at the present time, when science and politics and literature all combine to a movement and progression more rapid than the world ever saw before. We welcome the movement, and would aid the progress. We would

“ Make Knowledge circle with the winds ;
But let her herald, Reverence, fly
Before her to whatever sky
Bear seed of men and growth of minds.”

Viewed in this light, the study of antiquity assumes a higher degree of importance, and has a direct bearing on the affairs of life.

I trust that the Congress now opened will not be without its fruits, in drawing attention to objects of interest not generally known ; in opening up pleasant glimpses of old English life ; in connecting the events of history with the localities in which they occurred ; and, not least, in again meeting with old friends, and renewing acquaintanceships in a common pursuit ; and, most of all, in deepening our affection for the dear old England which we love so well.

BIRKENHEAD PRIORY.

BY C. ALDRIDGE, ESQ.

(Read Tuesday, August 16th, 1887.)

IN cordially welcoming the British Archæological Association to Birkenhead, we who reside in the "city of the future" feel proud that the places of interest included in your programme this year should commence with Birkenhead. It is a strange fact that in this most modern of towns, in which every building has been erected during the present century, and whose population has increased from 110 at the commencement of this century, to upwards of 80,000 at the present time, should, nevertheless, possess the ruins of a building much older than anything to be seen in the city of Liverpool. We may fairly be excused, therefore, if we feel a pride in the very picturesque old ruins of the Birkenhead Priory.

I propose, with your permission, before having the honour of taking you round, to give you very briefly some account of the history and architecture of the Priory; for one reason, that in perambulating a building it is almost impossible to make oneself heard by all the visitors; and for another, those who are seeing the ruins for the first time will, I dare say, like to know something about them before going round. The story of the Priory is soon told; and, fortunately, although few, all the records, and dates, and events are well substantiated.

About the year 1150, *temp.* Stephen, Hamon de Massey, third Baron of Dunham or Doneham Massey, in whose barony Birkenhead was situated, founded and built this Priory, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. James, for sixteen monks of the Benedictine Order; the Abbey of St. Werburga, at Chester, having been granted by Hugh Lupus, second Earl of Chester, to the Benedictines about the year 1093.

The first question to arise is, whether this Priory was independent of the Abbey of Chester, or merely an offshoot and dependency. I am disposed to think, in the

absence of any record to the contrary, that there is little doubt that Birkenhead was from its earliest foundation quite independent of Chester, although, of course, as we shall see from its proximity, and the fact of its belonging to the same Order, it naturally followed the same plan, although on a much smaller scale. The reasons why it is believed that this Priory was independent of Chester are briefly these : in the first place there is no record at Chester to the contrary; secondly, the Priory was founded and endowed by one of the barons of this palatinate, and not by the Earl of Chester; and thirdly, we know that the Barons of Donham granted the monks of Birkenhead the privilege of electing their own Prior, which was subsequently confirmed by a Bull of Pope Alexander II; this would not be likely to happen if the Priory were under the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Chester. In addition to this we know that the Priors of Birkenhead were of considerable importance. They sat in the Parliament of the palatine Earl of Chester, thus enjoying all the dignities and privileges of palatinate possessions; barons having their chamberlains and marshals, while the office of seneschal was a post coveted by the most knightly houses in the county.

We also know that the Priory was richly endowed, possessing the adjacent rectories of Backford and Bidstone, and most of the lands in those parishes and in Moreton, Cloughton, Trammere, Over Bebington, and Sunghall Massie. The advowson and vicarage of Bowdon, with the manor of Davenham, were granted to them by Hamon, the fifth Baron, in 1253, which was confirmed by Pope Alexander IV; also the moiety of the rectory of Wallasey, and a large estate in that parish. They held 15 acres of land in the manor of West Derby, and estates in different parts of Lancashire, a grange in Cloughton, and a warehouse in Water Street, Liverpool, where they kept the grain that remained over after the market there.

Ferry.—But perhaps the most important, and certainly to us their most interesting possession was the exclusive right of carrying or ferrying passengers across the Mersey, conferred upon the monks in 1282, and confirmed by subsequent grants; and in a charter dated 1318, a ferry, which existed down to a few years ago under the old

name of "The Monks' Ferry". The right of ferryage from Birkenhead to Lancashire must not be confounded with that from Liverpool, which had been previously granted to others.

The eleventh Prior obtained licence to build houses for lodging all such persons using the ferry as should be detained on account of contrary weather and the frequent storms. Up to that time there had not been any accommodation for travellers, "and the Priory had in consequence been burdened, and the passengers much wearied and very greatly grieved." (Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*.)

This ancient hostel or lodging-house stood apart from the Priory, on the opposite side of the street now called Priory Street. It was pulled down by Sir Thomas Powell in the reign of Charles I, who built a residence on the site, called "The Priory". At this he resided occasionally; and during the civil war, when the passage over the Mersey was deemed of great importance, the house was fortified by the Royalists. It eventually surrendered to the Parliamentary troops in the year 1644, was partially dismantled, subsequently rebuilt, and considerable additions were made to it by Mr. Parry Price. It was used afterwards successively as a farmhouse, boarding-school, temporary chapel, lodging-house, and private residence; was eventually demolished, and the site is now covered by shops and houses.

Fares.—The following were the Prior's charges for ferryage, viz. : for a man and horse, laden or not laden, two pence; and for a man on foot one farthing; but upon Saturday, the Liverpool market-day, these charges were increased to a halfpenny for a man; and for a man and what he may carry, a penny. These charges must have been considered high, for we find that in one year William de Braas, on behalf of the Crown, entered upon an action with the Prior as to his charges for ferryage. At the dissolution we find that the ferry-house brought in £4 : 6 : 8 *per annum*, equal to nearly £90 in the present day; while their 78 acres of arable land only brought in £6 : 4 : 0 *per annum*, or, according to our money, about 30s. an acre.

Revenues.—At the dissolution of monasteries the re-

venues of the Priory, according to Dugdale, were valued at £90 : 13; and according to Speed, at £102 : 16 : 10; or an income of about £2,000, according to the present value of money. For several years after the dissolution the Priory and its dependent properties remained in possession of the Crown. Henry VIII, in the year 1545, conveyed that portion of the Priory estate which was situate in Cheshire to Ralph Worseley, the third son of William Worseley of Worseley in Lancashire, where his numerous offices and death are recorded on a monument in the church of St. Mary at Chester. Worseley died in 1573, and the property descended, through his daughter, to the Powells of Horsley. After his death the estate was sold to John Cleveland, Esq., of Liverpool, whose daughter married Mr. Francis Price of Bryn-y-pys, in the county of Flint; and their great-grandson, Francis Richard Price, became the owner of the greater portion of Birkenhead.

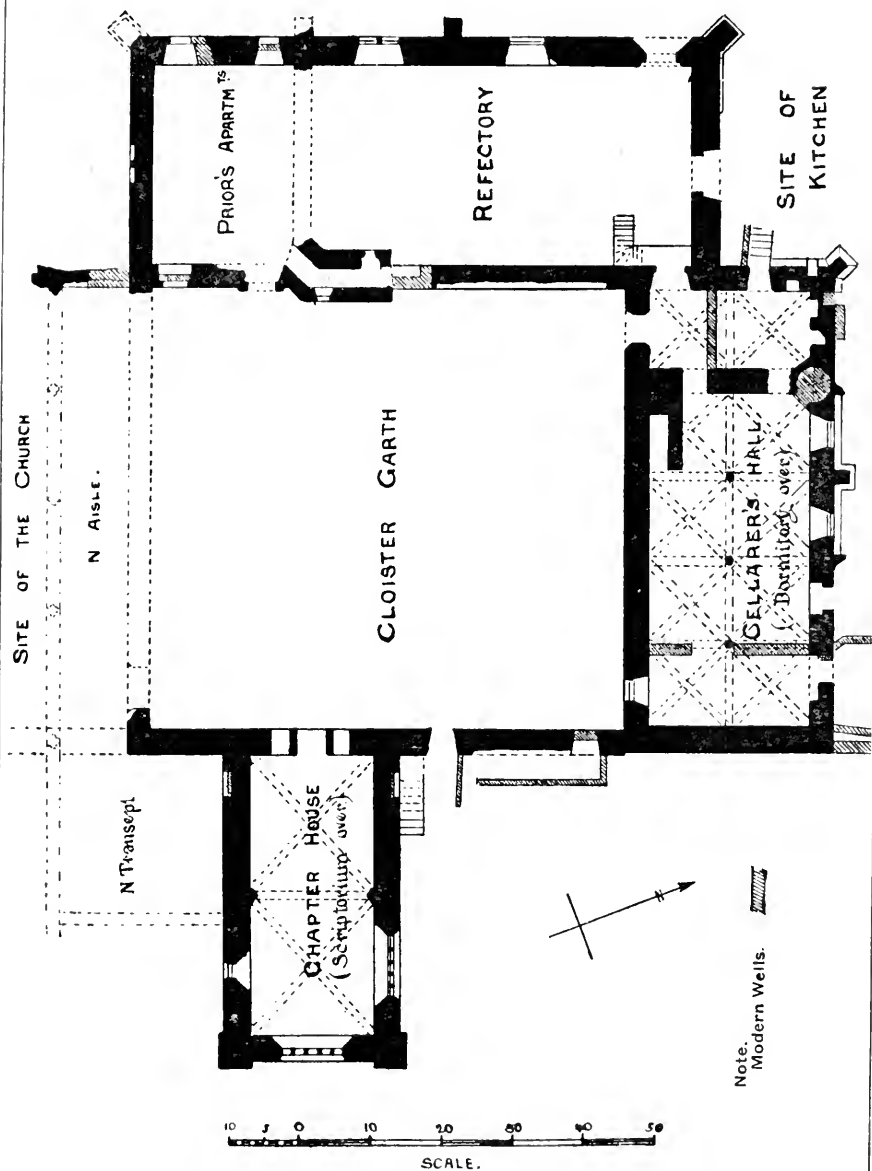
Priors.—I have placed on the wall a complete list of the names of all the Priors that history has handed down to us. These are twelve in number. The list covers a period of about two hundred years, commencing at about the year 1300; extending, without any break, down to the time of the dissolution of the Priory in or about the year 1539. History has not handed down to us anything especially remarkable in the lives of these Priors. I may notice, however, that in the year 1339 a monk was elected Prior in the place of Robert de Betchinton, who was only Prior for one year; and again, the last Prior but one was a monk. They were, according to the universal custom, all buried under the Chapter House floor; and the stone covering the grave of Thomas Rainford, who died in 1473, has been preserved, and placed vertically in the western wall of the Chapter House, on the left hand side of the doorway, the inscription on which is as follows:

“Here lieth Thomas Rayneford, formerly the good Vicar of this house, who died 20th May in the year of our Lord 1473, on whose soul may God have mercy.”

Old Wooden Bridge.—Some years ago, when navvies were excavating for some work in connection with the Birkenhead Docks, in the old line of roadway between

PLAN OF THE PRIORY OF BIRKENHEAD.

FOUNDED. A.D. 1150.





Birkenhead and Bidston, a most interesting archaeological discovery was accidentally made by one of the engineers. Several feet below the surface of the road a portion of an old wooden bridge, about 100 ft. long, was discovered in a wonderful state of preservation. The design was of the simplest description, consisting merely of several large oak beams, each about 18 ft. by 9, and 33 ft. long, parallel to each other, resting at either end in the rock; and on intermediate stone piers, across these beams, there were, doubtless, smaller timbers or joists, upon which planks were nailed to form the floor. This bridge evidently crossed one of the small streams or tributaries to the river "Birket", now converted into the Great Float, and was in all probability the work of the monks of this Priory. In course of time the stream had become filled up, and the bridge buried underneath the roadway.

Ormerod, in his account of the dissolution of the Priory, states that the monks made an effort to conceal their treasures at this period, and that there was a tradition that a subterranean passage existed leading from the Priory (where to he does not state), and that this was taken advantage of by the brethren to carry away their plate during a visit of the Commissioners. The story goes on to say that a large, well-balanced stone occupied the centre of the passage as a door; but during the flight of the monks it gave way, killing one, and cutting off the retreat of another, whose bones are supposed to lie hidden with the plate in the tunnel. No indication, however, of the passage and the hidden treasure has yet been discovered.

Another historian improves upon this story by stating that the tunnel was under the river Mersey, and communicated with Liverpool! What a pity that this tunnel was not discovered by the engineers of the Mersey Railway!

Architecture, Plan, etc.—I will now conclude this brief history of the Priory with a few remarks as to the plan and architectural features, for which purpose Mr. George Hornblower has kindly lent me some drawings made by him a few years ago, when a student of the Liverpool Architectural Society, and for which he obtained a prize.

The ground-plan shows all the buildings that now

remain, and by comparing this plan with that of the Abbey of St. Werburga at Chester (now the Cathedral), which I have prepared for the purpose, you will see at a glance one important point of similarity, viz., the position of the cloisters and conventual buildings, which, as at Chester, are placed on the north side of the church instead of the south, the almost invariable custom. Some writers say that this was done by the monks in order to shelter the cloisters from the south-easterly and south-westerly winds blowing across the peninsula. This may be so; but I venture to think that the architect simply followed the plan of the older convent at Chester. The Chapter House (the room we now occupy) is in a similar position to that at Chester; but the refectory, contrary to the general custom, has its axis, N and S, although the architect very wisely placed no windows in the east wall. I think the reason of this was to place the Prior's apartment adjoining the church, and to give him a direct communication, of which we find evidence. The cellarer's hall, with dormitory over, occupied the whole of the north side of the cloisters; the kitchen, offices, stables, and other out-buildings, of which little remains, were doubtless on the north side of the cloisters and refectory, probably where the Vicarage now stands. The guest-house, as we have seen, stood outside the boundary of the Priory, to the west. The Priory and conventual buildings were all enclosed by a wall, which is shown on a small drawing of the Priory in "King's Vale Royal, 1656."

Church.—Of the church itself little now remains, except a small portion of the west wall, with traces of the stairs communicating with the Prior's apartments; the respond of one of the arches of the north side of the nave-arcade; also a small portion of the north aisle-wall, with jamb of small doorway leading into the cloisters; and a corbel, from which a small arch commenced, over the east end of the north aisle. The church was, of course, of small dimensions, consisting probably of a nave of four bays, about 65 ft. long, and 27 wide; north and south transepts, the former communicating with the Chapter House; and probably a choir and sanctuary something like the plan shown by the red lines on the drawing; a total length, from east to west, of about 120 ft., and a total width, from north to south, of about 52 ft.

Chapter House.—The Chapter House where we are assembled is, of course, the most ancient, and I think the most interesting part of the conventual buildings, dating from its foundation in 1150. It was probably used by the monks at first as their chapel, until they built the Priory Church, nearly a hundred years later; and it is known to the present day as St. James's Chapel, probably not so much from its first use, but from the fact that when modern Birkenhead first began its existence, this building was used for divine worship. As the town increased in size, it was proposed to enlarge this chapel by building a chancel at the east end,—a scheme which, very fortunately, was never carried out, St. Mary's Church being built instead. It is strange that this building, the oldest portion of the conventual buildings, should have survived all the others that were built subsequently; no doubt this is partly due to its greater strength and solidity, and partly because it was, doubtless, thought advisable to leave some building intact to serve as a private chapel for the new proprietor. The building, as you will see, is severely simple, measuring 39 ft. 3 in. by 16 ft. 9 in., consisting merely of two squares with quadripartite vaulting, and was originally only one story, the room over being added at a much later date. Only one of the original windows remains, the others having been enlarged and filled in with Perpendicular tracery in the sixteenth century. When the Priory Church was built, the end window in the south side was converted into a doorway, by which access was obtained direct into the north transept; and probably at the same time a screen was put across the Chapter House, so as to form a vestibule, the grooves for which you will notice cut into the masonry. The west doorway leads direct into the garth.

Scriptoria.—The room over, from the size of the windows, the fireplace, and cupboards, was probably used as the "Scriptoria". It is much to be regretted that the old roof has disappeared; and it is to be hoped that at no very distant period money will be forthcoming to restore this room, and make the Chapter House something more like its original condition.

Cellarer's Hall.—The large building occupying the

whole of the north side of the garth was, doubtless, the cellarer's hall, 46 ft. 6 in. by 23 ft., with stairs leading to the dormitory over; the former being vaulted along its entire length, having doors at the west end communicating with the refectory, kitchens, etc., and on the north side with other offices.

Refectory and Prior's Apartments.—The refectory, as is generally the case in Benedictine buildings, is parallel to the cloisters, and occupies the west side of the small garth. It must have been a noble room, measuring 52 ft. by 27 ft. 9 in., with two fine windows along the west wall, and another in the gable at the north end. The southern portion was divided off by a stone wall, to form the Prior's apartments, 27 ft. 9 in. by 20 ft., which consisted of a kitchen or cellar in the basement, with living-room, etc., over, well lighted, with a handsome fireplace added at a later date. In the south-eastern angle of this room you will observe a doorway which communicated with stairs leading direct into the church; and in the north-east corner there was another doorway leading into the refectory and cloisters. The kitchens and other out-buildings directly belonging to the Priory were situated, as I have said, to the north of the refectory and cellarer's hall.

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY IN WIRRAL.

BY THE REV. ANDREW E. P. GRAY, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read Tuesday, August 16th, 1887.)

I PROPOSE to answer very briefly the following questions :

1. Who was the first to preach the Gospel to the *Britons* in Wirral? if I may use that term proleptically, for Wirral is the name that Englishmen gave to the district which their British predecessors called Kilgwri.

2. When did Wirral become English territory? Or, in other words, when did Kilgwri become Wirral?

3. Did the English conquest cause a relapse into heathendom, or has the Christianity of the district been continuous from the days of the Britons?

4. To whom did the *English* in Wirral owe their knowledge of the Gospel?

And lastly, can we find anything about a later wave of heathenism overspreading a portion of the peninsula?

1. Who was the first to preach the Gospel to the *Britons* between the Mersey and the Dee? And here let us guard ourselves, in passing, from placing any belief whatsoever in the mediæval legends about the great antiquity of British Christianity; and also let us avoid the common mistake of imagining that all Britons were Christians when the English landed in the island at the end of the fifth century. The greatest of all living historians, our own Bishop, is merely speaking the words of sober truth when he says, with characteristic directness, in his *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, that statements respecting British Christians at Rome in the first century, or about British Christians in Britain in the first century, or about apostles and apostolic men preaching in Britain, "rest upon either guess, mistake, or fable"; and a little further on he adds that "the evidence alleged for the existence of a Christian Church in Britain during the second century is similarly unhistorical".

In the early part of the third century there were, undoubtedly, Christians in Britain. The British Church

was organised under Bishops certainly before many years of the fourth century were gone ; but when our English forefathers came to the island at the end of the fifth century, there were still large portions of what is now England lying in the darkness of heathendom. If we take Mr. Green's map of Britain in 580, a year or two after Ceawlin's great victory at Deorham, we find Britain divided into two not very unequal portions by a line drawn south and north, starting from the eastward side of Selwood Forest in Dorsetshire, thence going across to the confluence of the Severn and the Bristol Avon, then along the Severn to the Forest of Arden, and northwards along the watershed between the Trent Valley and the basin of the Severn. Then the line is drawn (roughly speaking) between Cheshire and Derbyshire, between the West Riding and the rest of Yorkshire, between Cumberland and Durham, and so northwards to the Forth.

This was the division of the country in 580. East of the line which I have described dwelt the heathen English, west of it were the Britons ; but these Britons were not, even at that date, all of them Christians. Those in West Wales (*i.e.*, the Cornish peninsula) had received the Gospel : so had those in what we now call Wales ; but north of Chester, in the long strip of country shut in by the sea and the Pennine chain of hills, there was a mass of barbarism and heathendom. This tract of country was then called Strathclyde, and at the date already mentioned (580) a great and saintly man was labouring to evangelise it. His name was, in Pictish, Cyndeyrn ; in Welsh, Kentigern ; but he is better known by his *sobriquet*, which speaks so highly of the gentleness and unselfishness of his character, "Munghu", *i.e.*, gentle and dear ; in which name Glasgow Cathedral is dedicated to him. His is an interesting biography ; but I suppose we must hurry on, and not dwell upon it now, excepting so far as it touches on the history of Wirral.

About the year 560, persecution drove him from the northern part of Strathclyde for a time, and he resolved to join St. David at Menevia until the tyranny in Strathclyde should be overpast. At Carlisle he heard that there were many among the mountains given to idolatry, so he stayed amongst them for awhile, and preached the

Gospel with no small success. Afterwards, says Jocelyn of Furness, his biographer, he turned aside thence, and directed his steps along the sea-shore, scattering the seeds of the Divine Word as he went, until at length he reached North Wales. This, I take it, is the time when the Britons in Wirral first heard the Gospel. St. Kentigern was their evangelist in the third quarter of the sixth century.

Kentigern, while in Wales, founded a monastery at the confluence of the Elwy and the Clwyd (which latter river he himself perhaps named from some fancied resemblance to the river Clyde, on which he had left so many dear friends and spiritual children)—a monastery then called Llanelwy, but afterwards St. Asaph's, after the man whom St. Kentigern left as the first Bishop of the new see when he himself was recalled to Strathclyde in 573 by King Rhydderch, who had been baptized in Ireland. The Christianity in Wirral which St. Kentigern had planted he could not himself find time to water, and so the river Mersey became the boundary between the dioceses of Strathclyde and Llanelwy, and St. Asaph tended the infant church in Wirral. But a blow soon fell which severed all connection between Wirral and North Wales. St. Kentigern died in 612, and in the following year occurred that decisive battle which furnishes us with an answer to our second question.

2. That question was, as you may remember, "When did Wirral pass into the hands of the English? or, in other words, When did Kilgwri become Wirral?" There is no doubt about the answer to this question. In the year 613, Æthelfrith, King of Northumberland, advanced over the moors at the head of Ribblesdale into our South Lancashire, leaving behind him, in what is now the West Riding, the British kingdom of Elmet, which held out for three more years, and the little territory of Loidis or Lothene (for the words Lothian and Leeds were originally undistinguishable)—a territory that successfully resisted the English arms till the middle of the seventh century. From the valley of the Ribble Æthelfrith marched on to Chester, the capital of the Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd, and probably at that time the refuge-place of Eadwine, the rival of Æthelfrith. The battle of

Chester, and the slaughter in it of the monks of Bangor-yscoed, need not detain us. They have been fully described by Mr. Green in the *Making of England*. It was a battle that, to use the words of that eloquent historian, "marked a fresh step forward in the struggle with the Welsh. By their victory at Deorham the West Saxons had cut off the Britons of Dyvnaint" (or West Wales) "from the general body of their race: what remained was broken anew into two parts by the battle of Chester; for the conquest of Æthelfrith had parted the Britons of what we now call Wales from the Britons of Strathclyde; from this moment, therefore, Britain as a country ceased to exist."

The battle of Chester, then, had not a few important results; but the one that concerns us most now is that it changed Kilgwri into Wirral, that it Englished all the land between the Mersey and the Dee; and the completeness of the conquest of the district is shown by the prevalence of English names in its village nomenclature, for even in the very north of the peninsula we find the English settlements of Bidston and Poolton and Moreton. But this thought brings us to our third question,

3. Did this English conquest cause a relapse into heathendom? or has the Christianity of the district been continuous from the days of St. Kentigern and St. Asaph to those of Bishop Jacobson and Bishop Stubbs? And here let us free ourselves, once for all, from the idea that the English Church is in any sense a daughter of the British Church. There is no historic continuity between the two; there is no link traceable that would connect the bishops of our Church with the apostles, through the Bishops of the British Church,—a Church that many nowadays seem to think much of, and to praise highly, more for the sake of minimising our debt to Rome than for any other reason. St. Chad was, indeed, consecrated to York by the Bishop of Winchester and two Cornish Bishops; but, as far as we know, he never helped to consecrate any bishop; and the fact that his own consecration was looked on as incomplete may be taken as a proof that the two lines of succession existing in the English and the British Churches were not readily allowed to meet. The place which the British Church refused to

take in the conversion of the English was not, indeed, filled by Rome, but by Iona, a sister Church to that of Britain. This fact, however, does not bring us any nearer to those who, hopelessly confusing our own forefathers with those of the Welsh, would fain have us trace our spiritual descent from British bishops, and eventually so muddle their understandings that they look on King Arthur as an *English* hero, and speak of St. Alban as the protomartyr of *England*.

But though we, Christians and Teutons living in Wirral, may not look on ourselves as the spiritual sons of St. Kentigern and St. Asaph, it may be that Christianity has existed in the district from their days to ours. The strife between Englishman and Briton was no longer a war of extermination, as in the days of Hengest the Jute and Cerdic the Saxon and Ida the Angle. The vanquished Britons would be allowed to live (even if only as slaves) in their old homes. The pitiless days of the conquest of Pevensey, when “Ælle and Cissa slew all that were therein, nor was there afterwards one Briton left”, were gone; and some, at any rate, of the conquered would be spared to live side by side with their conquerors.

This fact, too, is borne out by the nomenclature of the district. The township of Landican, in the parish of Woodchurch; the suspicious resemblance of Liscard to the well known Liskeard in Cornwall; the latter syllable of the name Seacombe (for *combe* is the Anglicised form of the Welsh word *cwm*),—all these point to remnants of British inhabitants living on, as Christian slaves, it may be, to heathen English masters. The name of my own parish, Wallasey, which was then an island including the Welsh Liscard, the English Poolton, and the hybrid Seacombe means “the island of Welshmen”, and points to a time when the Britons held out against the English in a little island between the two mouths of the Mersey, for that river must, in those days, have had an outlet at Leasowe. One would like to think, too, that the dedication of our church to St. Hilary of Poitiers dates back from those far-off times when Wirral was Kilgwri. There are only two other old parish churches dedicated to that Saint,—the one in Anglesey, and the other in Cornwall,—both in Keltic districts; and so some

would argue that our church must have been dedicated in Keltic times. But was the principal mouth of the Mersey where it is now, or at Leasowe? In other words, did Wallasey belong to the Church of Wales or the Church of Strathclyde? the Mersey being, as you will remember, the boundary between the two. If we belonged to the diocese of Llanelwy, St. Hilary's Church did not exist in those days; for the Welsh Church never, until the eighth century, allowed any church to be dedicated excepting in the name of its founder, or of the Blessed Virgin, or of the Archangel Michael; whilst, if we belonged to the diocese of Strathclyde, our church may have been standing then, for there is the well-known instance of St. Ninian, at the beginning of the fifth century, consecrating a church in honour of his friend St. Martin.

It has never, I think, been pointed out that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, Wallasey alone of the townships in Wirral belonged to the greatest landowner in the Hundred of West Derby, Uhtred, possibly a member of the great house of Eadwulf. This fact makes it probable that at a date not very long before the Conquest, Wallasey was a part of Derby Hundred; in other words, that the chief mouth of the Mersey was at Leasowe.

But we cannot press the dedication of Wallasey Church as an argument. Still we may hold that Christianity lingered on after the English conquest of Wirral in 613; though, on the other hand, judging from the Britons in other places, we cannot imagine that the Christian remnant, hated by the English, and liberally returning the compliment, ever made much effort to convert their masters. We know that the priests of the British Church in what is now the West Riding and Lancashire fled before the advance of the heathen Northumbrians, and deserted their property, which St. Wilfrid afterwards claimed for the English Church; and there is no reason for supposing that the parsons of Wirral would be braver men than the parsons of Leeds and Amonderness. And so we come to the fourth of the five questions which we proposed to ourselves, viz.,—

4. To whom did the *English* in Wirral owe their

Christianity? Our answer to this question largely depends upon the way in which we should answer another, viz., Did Wirral belong to Northumberland or to Marchland when the English folk there were Christianised? It was, as we have seen, a king of Northumberland who won Chester and the neighbouring country from the Britons in the year 613, and Chester must have been the port from which Eadwine of Northumberland sailed to his conquest of Anglesey and Man. It is not likely that the Northumbrian boundaries were allowed to shrink under so great a king as Oswald, neither is there any evidence of such an event having taken place; but in 659 Marchland was under the rule of Wulfhere, who inherited the energy, though not the heathenism, of his father Penda, and whose daughter, Werburgh, is well known as the patron Saint of Chester; and he, in the year that I have just named, rebelled against his overlord, Oswin of Northumberland, the successor of Oswald. The revolt, though not altogether successful at first, laid the foundation of that greatness which Marchland attained under Æthelbald and Offa; and one immediate result of the rebellion was the pushing forward of the Mercian boundary northwards as far as the Mersey. We may note in passing that Marchland did not include the country between the Mersey and the Ribble until the tenth century. Manchester is spoken of as being "in Northumberland" in the reign of Edward the Elder, who, indeed, was perhaps the very man to make the change, for he would naturally wish to increase the power of his faithful Mercians in these debateable parts; and nothing, in that case, would be more probable than that he should hand over his fortress in Manchester to the same guardians as those who already garrisoned the sister fortress of Thelwall.

Wirral then, with the rest of what is now Cheshire, passed from Northumberland to Marchland in or very close to the year 660. Did the English settlers become Christian before or after that date? It is impossible to say for certain. The fact that two of the old parish churches between the Mersey and the Dee (those of Backford and Bidston) are dedicated to the Northumbrian Oswald, whilst not one of them is dedicated to any Mer-

cian saint, may seem to favour the view that the Englishmen of Wirral were Christians before they submitted to Wulfhere of the Marchland. If so, who brought them baptism? Was it the great St. Aedhan himself, or some one sent by him? For he was Bishop of all the north country from 635 to 651, and it may be that he preached the true religion even in this corner of his diocese.

Another great missionary there was whose name became to the north of England what that of St. Edmund was to the east, and St. Edward to the north. St. Cuthbert. He was hospitaller at Ripon at the very time when Wirral ceased to be part of Northumberland. Had he ever found his way here? Had his zeal led him over the hills south-west of Ripon into the district which men then called "the Wilderness", but which we now call the county of Lancaster, and along the old Roman road towards the ruins of a "waste city in Wirral", as the *Chronicle* calls that which had been the Roman Deva, and was to be the English Chester; and then on a little bit further to the group of small islands separated (if not permanently, at any rate) at high water, but now congealed, if one may so say, into the mainland of Wirral?

Or if we may not claim St. Aedhan or St. Cuthbert as our spiritual father, may we fall back on another name as great and as holy as theirs? If we are to imagine that the Englishmen of Wirral remained heathen whilst they were subject to the far-off court of Bamborough or York, then we must agree that in all probability they owed their Christianity to the wonderful outburst of religious enthusiasm amongst the children and grandchildren of Penda. And may we not in that case hope that it was Ceadda himself, the gentle St. Chad, who first preached the Gospel to us English folk in Wirral? He became Bishop of the Marchland only some ten years after the acquisition of Wirral, and his apostolic labours would take him into every corner of his vast diocese.

Such speculations may be interesting to us who live in Wirral, but must be tedious to others, seeing that we can never determine with certainty the exact debt that Wirral owes to Aedhan, Cuthbert, or Ceadda: we will, therefore, pass on to our fifth point, and touch shortly upon a wave of heathenism which broke upon Wirral

three hundred years or more after the times of which we have been speaking.

5. Here we deal with hypotheses rather than with established facts, and must do so (as, no doubt, you will be glad to hear) very briefly. I have sufficiently tried your patience already. There was certainly a settlement of a considerable body of Norsemen in Wirral,—a settlement that we must carefully distinguish from the temporary stay of Haesten the Dane in 894. It is not mentioned in history, but it is proved by the irrefragable evidence of local nomenclature.

Whence and when did these Norsemen come? They would probably come from the Isle of Man, the nearest Norwegian settlement, the southern part of which island had been parcelled out amongst Norsemen as completely as Yorkshire had been dealt out by Halfdan amongst Danish holders in 876. The village-names in the Island show that, roughly speaking, the northern part remained Keltic when the southern became Norwegian. Can we, then, find any mention of any movement amongst the Wickings in the Irish Sea, which may synchronise with their incursion into Wirral? Norsemen certainly joined the Danes in that invasion at the end of the tenth century, which, after thirty-five years' warfare, ended in a Danish king ruling in England; and in the middle of those wretched thirty-five years the Norse Wickings in the Irish Sea must have been particularly active, for we read that in the year 1000 King Æthelred marched northwards, and harried Cumberland, whilst the English fleet sailed round to Chester, and thence to the Isle of Man, which they ravaged.

Is it not *possible* that these movements were intended partly to repel and partly to revenge an incursion of Norsemen from the Isle of Man? And is it not even *probable* that the Norwegian settlement in Wirral must have taken place shortly before the year 1000? The settlers would be heathen, for, although the Kelts in the Isle of Man had been Christians for five hundred years, an entry in the *Manx Chronicle* implies that the Norsemen there did not accept the Gospel till about the year 1025; but, when once they had taken up their abode amongst the Christian Englishmen in Wirral, they would very soon adopt their neighbours' religion.

These Norsemen sailed up the Mersey and the Dee, and made their homes as far inland as Whitby, on the former river (near Ellesmere Port), and Shotwick, at the head of the estuary of the latter; but their main strength lay not unnaturally nearer to the sea, where they gave names to Thingwall, their place of meeting in the centre of the district, answering to the Manx Tynwald; to Raby, and Greasby, and Frankby; to Kirkby-in-Wallasey (as the mother-village of Wallasey parish used to be called), and to West Kirby.

An interesting question here suggests itself,—did they find a church already existing in Wallasey? And afterwards, when they themselves became Christians, did they build another church on the west of the peninsula, to which they gave the name of the favourite Manx saint, St. Bridget, for that is the name which West Kirby Church bears? Is this the reason why our village was called Kirkby; and the other, as being more lately built, had to be distinguished as West Kirby? All this is largely guesswork; but the fact of the Norse settlement is clear, though the date of it is uncertain, and the time of their acceptance of Christianity unknown.

I have thus answered, to the best of my ability, the five questions with which we set out. It seems to me most probable,—1, that Christianity was first preached to the Britons in Kilgwri, by St. Kentigern, about the year 560; 2, that Wirral became English territory after the battle of Chester, in 613; 3, that the British remnant left in the district remained Christian, but did not convert their conquerors; 4, that the English in Wirral were converted, in the middle of the seventh century, by St. Aedhan of Lindisfarne, or by St. Ceadda of Lichfield, or by some unknown mission-priest sent by one or other of those two Bishops; and 5, that the Norse immigration shortly before the year 1000 thrust into Wirral a wedge of heathenism, which, however, speedily vanished before the sturdy English Christianity by which it was surrounded.

CONSIDERATIONS

RELATIVE TO THE

GROUND-PLAN AND WALLS OF CHESTER.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read Tuesday, 16th August 1887.*)

SOME of the most interesting questions that have been discussed by antiquaries in recent times are those relative to the age of the walls of the city of Chester, and it may not be a profitless addition to the subject-matter of the inquiry to consider the evidence of their ground-plan according to present appearances. I propose, therefore, briefly to consider the form and *contour* of the walls, to compare these with those of other cities, and to draw attention to a few of the discoveries made in recent years.

A comparison of the plans of the system of defence of our English cities and towns will show that although at first sight they may appear to be very diverse in their arrangements, yet in reality there are so many constantly recurring features that a comparison of them will help materially to determine, if not at what exact period they were formed, yet at least to indicate by what people they were constructed.

The plans of many of the ancient hill-fortresses of our country have great similarity in the following respect. They are formed by ditches more or less deep, which follow the outline of the site. Whether we find them in the south or in the north, we can recognise fair uniformity of plan. Their comparison with other fortified places enables us to determine with fair accuracy what parts are original, and others that may have been added at later times and by other people. When we find Roman walling enclosing an area planned in much the same way as at Verulamium, Silchester, London, Wroxeter, and some other places, we can judge that a British town existed prior to the advent of the Roman people.

This form of walled town is, perhaps, one of the earliest

found in our country ; and at London and Chichester mediæval walls stand on those of Roman origin, as the latter most probably did on wattled work of prehistoric times.

The second plan to be noticed in our towns is that of a parallelogram more or less defined, with or without towers of defence. Of such, Lincoln, most possibly Leicester, Colchester, Cirencester, and many others, are examples ; one peculiarity of these being that the angles are more or less rounded, and that their axis is a little out of due east and west. Another is that several, like Colchester and York, have their greatest extent from west to east rather than from north to south. Chester is also a little out of axis. An interesting series of this class indicates that while their walls were originally in the form of a parallelogram, yet additions and alterations have more or less altered the plan. York is an example of this of one period, and Bristol another of later date. A third plan, which is not uncommon, is regular in its irregularity ; not for the purpose of enclosing any special feature of the site, but for that of including an area of the size required, and having relation either to a castle or to the earthen mound on which a castle has existed. This form of plan is not at all unlike that of a mediæval castle, if we suppose the town to be built within the area of the outer ballium of such a castle. Richmond is a good example of this arrangement ; but earlier examples may be found at Oxford, Tonbridge, Newcastle, and many other places.

There are other varieties, and many more minor features are added to the above. They are found in varying positions, either high up on a hill-side, as at Lincoln, or almost level with the water's edge ; but still these three varieties are the principal forms to which the others can be readily traced.¹

There is but little difficulty in determining the age of the first-named class of design, and then only when a plan like that of the Roman city of Silchester presents itself. Its regular irregularity inclines a little to the third class, but not sufficiently so as to prevent our recognising the outline as that of a British settlement prior to the advent of the Romans. The third, too, is

¹ The consideration of a few unusual circular plans, as at Old Sarum and Devizes, needs not be included in this inquiry.

only open to the inquiry as to whether or not the period of foundation may be Norman, as is the case at Richmond. It is mostly of Saxon times, but it is never Roman.

The plan of the city of Chester so exactly conforms itself to the second class as to call for more extended consideration of this type of plan. The instances already cited are of Roman date. While we cannot find any example of a square-built British town, so we do not find any in England of Norman date;¹ thus, by aid of a somewhat neglected science, that of comparative archæology, we can at once determine that the plan of the walls of Chester must of necessity be of Roman or Saxon date.

That ramparts around towns of Saxon date were formed on the plan of nearly, if not quite, a parallelogram, must be at once assented to. They were, doubtless, copied from the earlier existing Roman examples. Those of Sandwich are of this period, as are most probably those of Wareham and Huntingdon,—towns so thoroughly of Saxon foundation as to justify the belief that the ramparts we now see are the work of that people. There is, however, this important difference, that these, like the still later ramparts of Hereford and some others, are earthen banks, and not stone walls. They supported, doubtless, palisades more or less analogous to much work of earlier as well as of later date. No stone wall of the Saxon period, around a town, exists; and although there are a few notices sufficient to justify the belief that the Saxons did occasionally erect stone walls, yet such works must have been very few and far between, and so badly constructed as to prevent the existence of any part of them, except, perhaps, as some antiquaries think, a portion of the walls of Exeter,—an opinion which I believe to be open to much doubt. Portion of the causeway to Tamworth Castle may be Saxon work. Its rude and unskilful construction admits of the belief. This is, however, very different from any walling remaining to any town known to me; and if any such were to be met with, it would be readily assigned to its proper authors.

We have, therefore, but to consider the plans of the Roman cities which exist, in relation to the city of Ches-

¹ Hull and Winchelsea are more or less rectangular, and are of mediæval date, showing a recurrence to older plans, possibly from French sources.

ter. We find that these have rounded corners. The same exist at Chester so nearly as to warrant the belief that they were originally as pronounced, say as at Colchester, where the Roman walls may be traced throughout the whole extent of the town.

The main streets of Chester cross and recross one another at right angles, or so nearly so as to warrant the belief that they were originally planned so. This arrangement of streets at right angles to one another is still observable in almost every other Roman city in England. We can trace the actual streets at the ruined sites of Silchester and Verulamium; and it continues as a survival, more or less exact, at York, Gloucester, Colchester, and elsewhere. It is, however, not enough of itself to determine a site to be a Roman one, for it occurs fairly exactly at Saxon Oxford and Bristol. The positions of the gates follow in relation to those of the streets, particularly in regard to the two main roads which cross one another, dividing the city into four parts more or less equal; and this arrangement has its counterpart at Roman Colchester and at Chester alike.

The absence of bastions is another feature in which the walls of Chester accord with those of some other Roman towns. We find that bastions have been added at a later Roman date to the walls of London, Richborough, Burgh Castle, and, doubtless, several others; but these examples, which I have pointed out at our meetings, either on the spots or elsewhere, will be sufficient to show that Roman walls were sometimes originally built without these means of defence, and that they were added as if in obedience to some central decree in times of emergency. A glance at the map of Chester indicates that the absence of bastions is conspicuous on all sides except the north, where three towers, and three only, exist in a total length of 1,865 ft. These, the Phoenix Tower, and especially the projecting water-tower, are most probably mediæval additions. On the east side is only a single bastion, the Wolf Tower, in an extreme length of 3,090 ft. There is a single tower near the bridge, and there was another.

Another item of evidence requires attention. We find that every principal Roman city in our country was walled. If Colchester, the ancient *Colonia Camolodunum*,

had its wall, which has already been referred to, can it be doubted that Deva, for so great a period of time the quarters of the Twentieth Legion, would be without such a defence? Then, too, Deva was the termination of certain Roman roads. As to this, the statement made by my eminent predecessor, the late Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., may be accepted as conclusive, that the principal Roman roads always terminated at a walled town. It is reasonable, therefore, to say that Roman Chester was walled. Now the remains of such walls are so massive that they are traceable to this day in almost numberless instances, with two exceptions, Canterbury and Rochester; and from the fact that in neither of these cities the Roman walls have been met with, we may readily draw the conclusion that this otherwise incredible state of things is explainable by the belief that the existing mediæval walls actually stand upon those of Roman date. A third example of the supposed non-existence of Roman walls was Chichester; but the result of the excavations made by this Society two years ago was to demonstrate beyond all question or doubt that the present mediæval walls were actually built upon the sturdy base of the old buried walls of the Roman city.

The evidences for and against the date of the first foundation of the walls of Chester, whether Saxon or Roman, may, therefore, be briefly summed up as follow. While we have no existing evidence that the Saxons ever built any such works of magnitude in stone as the walls of our city, we have every item of comparison according with other Roman plans, the age of which cannot be called in question. Further, that if no remains of Roman walling can be traced, it will be unlike the case of every other Roman city except the two above named.

Another feature is so curious as to demand notice. I have already spoken of the fact that the walls of Chester are not exactly east and west. The result is that the lines of the roads are parallel with the walls. Now Chester possesses many churches, to some of which a remote date for their foundation may be assigned, and it is very doubtful if any are later than Saxon times. I have elsewhere shown that churches in our counties are nearly all fairly orientated. At Chester, however, they are in every

case parallel with the walls, and are not exactly east and west.¹ The evidence to be derived from this is that the course of the streets and walls has regulated the position of the churches, and that the former had a prior existence. An attempt was made to alter the axis of the Cathedral, which is therefore, and by so much, not parallel with the city walls. The same thing may be observed at York, where the Roman walls are more inclined from the north than at Chester; yet many of the churches follow the line of the walls. The Cathedral, however, is truly orientated, and it stands obliquely to the walls of the city, far more so than is the case at Chester.

Another class of evidence demands attention. It is that of discoveries of late years. Traces of Roman paving have actually been met with in more than one of the present streets, which are, therefore, shown to be in the position of those of Roman times; and these are parallel with the walls, the date of which we are inquiring into. On the removal of the old East Gate, Pennant records the fact that two Roman arches were found beneath the more recent work of Norman date. When a sewer was made over the site of East Gate, about forty years since, traces of a projecting building, supposed to be Roman, were found. These discoveries point to the existence of Roman gates where the present ones stand. In 1863 the site of a large Roman building was laid open in Bridge Street, and it was traced for a length of nearly 200 ft. Its course was at right angles to the line of the street, and parallel to the four walls of the city.

The effect of all this evidence is to render ample reason for the belief that the walls of Chester are likely to stand upon the site of those of the Roman city. This may be true; and they may, however, be of later date. The survey of their actual workmanship will take place on our visit.

The earthen mound of Chester Castle has every indication of being Saxon. May we not consider its irregular position, in relation to the city wall, to indicate some extension of the area of the city which Æthelflæda appears to have made?

¹ They are not placed uniformly all over the city, but are clustered more to the south and west, indicating apparently that the population in early times was in this direction, and sparse elsewhere in the city.

OLD LIVERPOOL CHINA AND EARTHENWARE.

BY W. H. COPE, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read Wednesday, 17th August 1887.)

“It would, perhaps, scarcely be expected that in such a busy, bustling, and gigantic place of enterprise and commercial activity as Liverpool, in the midst of shipping of every description, and surrounded by the most enormous and busy undertakings of one kind or other, we should successfully look for the full and perfect accomplishment of so quiet, so unostentatious, so peaceful, and so delicate an art as that of the potter. But thus it is; and Liverpool, which counts its docks by tens, its wharves and stores by hundreds, its shipping by thousands, and its wealth by millions; which can boast its half million inhabitants, its overground and underground railways, and every appliance which skill and enterprise can give or trade and commerce possibly require; which has undertaken the accomplishment of some of the most wonderful and gigantic schemes the world ever knew, and has carried them out in that spirit of commendable and boundless energy that invariably characterises all its actions,—has not been behindhand with its more inland and more modest neighbours in the manufacture of delicate porcelain and of pottery of the most fragile nature.” (*Jewitt.*)

The manufacture of earthenware at Liverpool has found a historian in Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., who has communicated an interesting account of it in a paper read by him at the meeting of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in May 1855, and since published.

The first mention of pottery in Liverpool is in the list of town-dues payable at the port in the year 1674: “For every cartload of muggs shipped into foreign parts, 6*d.*; ditto, along the coast, 4*d.*; for every crate of cupps or pipes into foreign parts, 2*d.*; ditto, along the coast, 1*d.*” Also specimens are known of mugs dated 1722-56, besides a large punchbowl presented to Captain Metcalf in 1753

by the owners of his vessel, the Golden Lion. This bowl of delft, with blue paintings, was made by Alderman Shaw at a pottery in Dale Street.

The earliest pot-work of which there is any information appears to have been that of Alderman Shaw, situate at Shaw's Brow. At these works was most probably made the earliest known dated example of Liverpool delftware. Shaw's Brow is a rising piece of ground on the east side of the rivulet that ran at the bottom of Dale Street. Richard Chaffers advanced the manufacture of porcelain, and was apprenticed to Shaw, and established his own works in 1754.

The following very interesting little notice of these pot-works occurs in the *Liverpool Memorandum Book*: "The chief manufactures carried on here are blue and white earthenware, which at present almost vie with china. Large quantities are exported for the colonies abroad. A most interesting matter in connection with the delftware works at Shaw's Brow is the fact of a number of broken vessels being discovered on its site during excavations for building the Liverpool Free Library and Museum in 1857. On that occasion an old slip-vat was found, containing clay, which might probably have been prepared as early as 1680."

Zachariah Barnes, another manufacturer in Liverpool, commenced business in the old Haymarket, at the left hand side in going to Byrom Street. The principal goods made by him were jars and pots for druggists. The large, round dishes made by Barnes were chiefly sent to Wales. Barnes' forte lay in the manufacture of tiles, then much in vogue, for chimney-pieces.

John Sadler, of Liverpool, invented the art of printing or transferring, on earthenware, designs and subjects in the year 1752. He was the son of Adam Sadler, a favourite soldier of the great Duke of Marlborough. Sadler went into partnership with Guy Green. They established themselves in Harrington Street, at the back of Lord Street, Liverpool. Messrs. Sadler and Green appear to have done a very profitable and excellent business in the printing on pottery. The process was soon found to be as applicable to services and other descriptions of goods as to tiles; and these two enterprising men pro-

duced many fine examples of their art, some of which, bearing their names as engravers or enamellers, are still in existence.

Josiah Wedgwood, always alive to everything which could tend to improve or render more commercial the productions of his manufactory, eventually determined to adopt the style of ornamentation, and arranged with the inventor to decorate such of his "Queen's Ware" as it would be applicable to by their process. The work was a troublesome one, and in the then state of the roads (for it must be remembered that this was before the time even of canals in the district, much less of railroads) the communication between Burslem and Liverpool was one of great difficulty. Wedgwood, however, overcame it, and sending the plain body of his works in Staffordshire, packed it in wagons and carts, and sent it to Liverpool, where it was printed by Sadler and Green, and returned to him by the same kind of conveyance. Specimens of these early printed goods, bearing Wedgwood's name, are rare.

At Liverpool it is certain that the art was known at an earlier period than can safely be ascribed to Worcester. A fine specimen of transfer-printing on enamel, dated 1756, is in the Mayer Collection. It is curious that these two earliest dated exemplars of these two candidates for the honour of the invention of printing on enamels and earthenware—Liverpool and Worcester—should be portraits of the same individual, Frederick the Great of Prussia. But so it is. The Worcester example is a mug bearing the royal portrait, with trophies, etc., and the date 1757. The Liverpool one is an oval enamel, and a much finer work of art, with the name, "J. Sadler, Liverpool, Enam." The Worcester mug may be seen in the Museum of Practical Geology, London.

Copperplate printing on china and earthenware was originated here (Liverpool) in 1752, and remained some time a secret with the inventors, Messrs. Sadler and Green. It appeared unaccountable how uneven surfaces could receive impressions from copperplates. It could not long remain undiscovered that the impression from the plate is first taken on paper, and then communicated to the ware after it is glazed. The manner in which this continues to be done here remains still unrivalled.

One of the most noted men connected with the ceramic art in Liverpool was Richard Chaffers, who made great advances in the art, and to whom his native town owed the introduction of the manufacture of china. He was born in Medway Street, Liverpool, in 1731, one year only after the birth of Josiah Wedgwood. From delftware Chaffers passed on to the manufacture of fine, white earthenware, and produced an excellent body and an almost faultless glaze. We find Chaffers making porcelain or chinaware in December 1756. This is shown by the evidence of Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser and Mercantile Register* for the 10th of December 1756, in which the following advertisement, discovered by Mr. Mayer, occurs: "Chaffers and Co.'s China Manufactory. The porcelain or chinaware made by Messrs. R. Chaffers and Co. is sold nowhere in the town, but at the Manufactory on Shaw's Brow. Considerable abatement for exportation, and to all wholesale dealers. N.B.—All the ware is proved with boiling water before it is exposed for sale." Chaffers died of fever at an early age.

Pennington.—Another of the principal manufacturers of Liverpool pottery was Seth Pennington. Of the Penningtons, three brothers were potters. Seth Pennington conducted his works at Shaw's Brow; and, besides the ordinary classes of earthenware then in use, made a remarkably fine kind of ware that successfully competed, for vases and beakers, with the oriental, both in its colour, its glaze, and its decoration.

The Herculaneum Pottery, the largest earthenware manufactory ever established at Liverpool, was founded in the year 1796, on the site of some old copper-works on the south shore of the river Mersey, at Toxteth Park. The Pottery had been originally established, in 1793-4, by Richard Abbey, who sold his works to Messrs. Worthington, Humbles, and Holland. The new Company engaged hands from Staffordshire; and as Wedgwood had chosen to call his new colony "Etruria", the enterprising Company determined on christening their colony "Herculaneum", which name they at once adopted and stamped on their wares. The first productions of the Herculaneum works were confined to blue printed ware, dinner, tea, and coffee-services, and cream-coloured ware, which

was then very fashionable. At a later date, terra-cotta vases and other articles were produced, as were also biscuit figures, etc.

In blue printing the Herculaneum works produced many remarkably good patterns, and the earthenware bearing those patterns was of a fine, hard, and compact body, of excellent glaze, and the potting remarkably good and skilful. In 1800 the manufacture was considerably increased, and in 1806 it received many additions. Early in the present century china was made, and continued to be produced, though not to a large extent, to the time of the close of the works. In 1833 the Company was dissolved, and the property sold for £25,000 to Mr. Ambrose Lace, who leased the premises to Thomas Case and James Mort, who carried on the business for about three years. By these gentlemen it is said the mark of the Liver was introduced about 1836.

The firm of Case, Mort, and Co., was succeeded by that of Mort and Simpson, who continued its manufacture until its close in 1841. The site is now occupied by the Herculaneum Docks.

The crest of the borough of Liverpool is a bird called the Liver, with wings expanded, holding a plant called the Liverwort,—this was adopted by Messrs. Case, Mort, and Co.

The tiles made at Liverpool were called Dutch tiles. They were remarkable for the sharpness of the engraving, the wonderful clearness and beauty of the transfers (the ink used being evidently far superior to that usually used at the present day), and excellence of the glaze. They are printed either in black, cream, red, or purple, and the devices are extremely varied. These copper-plates were used also for ornamenting mugs, jugs, etc., of finer earthenware.

In conclusion. In the Mayer Museum is a teapot of cream-coloured ware, with black printing, of Richard Abbey's making. On one side are the farmers' arms with supporters, quarterly, viz., 1st, a sheaf of corn; 2nd, two scythes in saltier; across them, in fess, two flails knitted together by a sickle; 3rd, a hayrake and hayfork in saltier, with a three-pronged fork, prongs upwards, in pale. Supporters, a dairymaid with a churn, and a mower with

a scythe. Motto, "In God is our trust." On the other side is the appropriate verse,—

"May the mighty and great
Roll in splendour and state ;
I envy them not, I declare it.
I eat my own lamb,
My chicken and ham,
I shear my own sheep, and I wear it.

"I have lawns, I have bowers,
I have fruits, I have flowers,
The lark is my morning alarmer.
So, you jolly dogs now,
Here 's God bless the plow ;
Long life and content to the farmer."

THE CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF WING, Co. BUCKS.

BY THE REV. L. H. LOYD, M.A.

(*Read 16th Feb. 1887.*)

COPY of entries in churchwardens' accounts teem with curious information of great value to archæology, and those in the Church-Book, Wing Church, Bucks, here following, will be found to be of considerable interest.

M^d. That S. Wylliā Dormer Knyght ffraunis dorrell and John Amore gentlemē w^t the consent of the churchwardens thē beyng and the rest of the paryshe have agreed and taken an order that all suche yonge men as shall hereaft^r by order of the parryshe be chosen for to be lorde at Whytsontyde for the behoffe of the churche and refuse so to be shall forfeyt and pay for the use of the churche iijs. iiij^d. to be levyed uppon the sayde yonge men and theyr fathers and mayst^{rs} wheare the just default cā be founde and every mayde refusyng to be lady for the sayd purpose to forfeit unto the sayde use xx^d. to be levyed in lyke order as is before expressed and yt is provyded that all such houses out of the whiche the sayde lordes or ladyes or one of thē are chosen to stand fre from that purpose and charge for the space of vj yere thē next ensuynge | This order was taken agreed uppon and in this boke noted the xth day of June in the yere of o^r lorde god m ccccx lxx.

[*On p. 67, left hand*]—

M^d that this yere at Whytsontyde was chosen for the Lorde John Taylor of Ascot and Catheryn Chapman of Crafton

Note an order mētioned in y^e end of this boke for y^e lord & lady at Whytsontyde made this yere 1565

An Inventory, or Account of all the Utensils, Vestments, Books, Ornaments, &c., in the Parish Church of Wing, in the County of Bucks:—

Vestments, Books, and Ornaments, Utensils.—One long ladder, one long brush

One silver tankard, one silver chalice & lid, two silver plates, washed

One white silver chalice & lid, one silver salver, two large Bibles, three large Prayer Books & one for the Parish Clerk

Ornaments.—Communion Table, parish chest & two more large chest, velvet covering cloth, table cloth & napkin, one surplice, a crimson pulpit cloth & desk cloth, three cushionings, one burial cloth & bier, one green pulpit cloth & cushioning.

Charity's—	£	s.	d.
Mr. Rob ^t Shepherds Gifts . . .	3	3	4
Mr. Pratt's Gift . . .	3	3	10
My Lady's Carnarvon's Gift . . .	2	4	0
Mr. Rob ^t Shepherds Gift . . .	2	3	4
Ledbourn Gift to Wing Parish . . .	3	15	9
	<hr/>		
	14	10	3

All properly applied

Rob^t Adams }
Paul Nunes } Churchwardens

6th May 1782 exhibited at the parochial visitation before me
Luke Heslop Archdⁿ

The lyghtmen

M^d that Wylyame Hawys Wylyame Geff's lyghtmen too the rudde lyght haith remanyng in their hands all thyngs dyscharygyde vjs. vjd.

It' Rycharde Dygger and Henry Nycoles lyghtmen to Sancte Kateryns and Sancte Margaret lyghts haith remanyng in there hands all thyngs dyscharygyde xxs. xjd.

It' Roberte ffontans Tho^{ms} Buckmaister lyghtmen too Sancte Tho^{ms} and Mary Magdaleyns haith remanyng in their hands all thyngs alowyde xjs.

It' Nycoles lucas and Joh^{ne} lewys lyghtmen too our ladys lyght haith remanyng in their hands all thyngs alowyde a quart^r off malte, too bushell off barley and in redy money xvs. iijd.

It' tho^{ms} Wynchester and Nicoles ffontans torchemen haith maide for too years paiste off ther hought ayls and haith remanyng in hands all thyngs alowyde xxixs. viijd.

S^m in totall that the lyghtmen haith remanyng in ther hands all thyngs dyscharygyde is iiij*l.* ijs. iiij*l.*

M^d that theys be the ornaments off the paryche church off Wyng an^o dⁿⁱ m^o d^o xxvij^o die vero mensis Junii vigesimo secundo

In primis, fyve chaleyces off sylver, too thorow gylde, and thre parcell gylde

It' too pyxys, one sylver ungylded, and the other copper and gylde, somtyme off the gyveytt off Joane ffontans

It' one pax, sylver and gylte, and too olde paxys

It' one sylver senseurs, ungylded sayyng the towars, and pennacklyes off the same with other ceyrtayne plaes

It' too crossys coopper and gylte, and other too olde crossys

It' thre crosse staveys, one copper and gylte, and too off woode

It' thre crosse cloythys, one off greane sarsneytt, and too olde

It' syx banner clothys and foure streyners and eyght pools too the same

- It' too canopye kyrthenys, one off neidle worke, and the other off
 lawne
 It' a clothe for the canopye off saytteyn, the color off vyolett wyth
 foore stavys unto the same
 It' too coopys, one off blen welveytt, and other course coops
 It' too hangyngs, one off blen for the hye alter, and another off
 wheytt fustiane for oure ladys alter
 It' a borthier off clothe of goolde for the hey alter, off the gyvytt off
 Syr Radulphe Werney
 It' a pavle for the Sepulcher off brauncheide worke
 It' a gyrdeyll off neiddle worke for the sepulcher
 It' foore corpraxys and foore cayses too the same
 It' too qwheysyngs for the alters
 It' thretty one alter clothys good and badde off the wyche fyve be
 payntyde
 It' syx vestments wythe theyr albyes and all other thyngs parten-
 yng ther too, one off blew welvett, and an otheyr off greyn,
 the thyrd off blew dammaske braunchyde, the foorte off reide
 satteyne, with a tunyckle too the same off the same sooytt,
 for a decayne, the syxte off whytt satteyne
 It' thre course vestmeynts, one for evry Sondey, and too for evry
 worke day
 It' too chesablys without albeys
 It' ix dryng towells for the alters good and baide
 It' six cruetts and thre sacryng belles and a lavo' too washe wyth
 att the crystnyng off chylther, and too hande bells
 It' too reyve surpleys for prests, and six playne for clarks, and
 other syx olde surpleys for seolers
 It' a vayle cloth for lent, and other thre, one for our ladys alter,
 and an other for our lady, and the thyrd for Sancte John off
 baptiste
 It' syx curteyns, too for the wheyr, too for the rude loveytt, and
 too off dyapper for Sancte Kateryns loveytt
 It' a couerlett for the heyrse, the color greane
 It' too standers of lattyne for the hey alter, and too smalle lattyne
 kandylstyckys for the same
 It' too candelstycks off latyne for Sancte Cateryns alter, and syx
 for the heyrse
 It' too standyng desks too reide lessons off

In books

- In p̄mis the cheve antyphoner wrytt
 It' fyve antyphoners besyde, too prynt, and thre wrytt
 It' three Graylls, too mannells, one legent prynt, too hymners wrytt,
 foore messe books, thre wrytt and one prynte, and fyve preces-
 syoners, foore wrytt and one p̄nte

The nappery weyr beyng in the custody off the churchie
 wardeyns

- In p̄mys thre dyapper towells and too off playne cloothe

It' one dyapper table clothe and sxx playne table clotheys
 It' one payre off sheytts and too halfe sheytts
 It' a clothe for the rude

Anno domini millesimo . quingentesimo . vigesimo . septimo
 die vero mensis Junii xvj^o finis

Anno domini m^o d^o xxvii^o

M^d that this be the Accoūnts off me Wylyam off welde, thomas
 Saunders, henry Nycolas and Rafe A borro, churchwardens
 of Wyng, from the fest of the blessyd trynYTE in the yere
 of our lorde gode m^o d^o xxvii^o unto the same day thewlfe
 monthe, an first our Reseyts for the hole yere, and nexte
 ffor our dyschargs for the same yere

In þmis Reseyd yn Redy mony of M^r Roberd Dormer, John
 godarde, Wylyame lucas, John copper, churche wardeyns, in the
 yere laste paste xxx, and also a q^o of mavlte, the weche was solde
 unto Wyllyam clarke & hothers for xxj*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*. of the weche
 ys payd in hande iiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*. and the reste xvij*li*. vjs. viij*d*. to
 be payde at the fest of Sancte Michael next c'myng aufter the datte
 Afore Rehersyd and thus the Ecrement of thys yere

In þmis Reseyd of Alys koe Sextors to the torchlyte iijs. iiij*d*.
 It'm Reseyd of bartelat of Ledborn vjs. iiij*d*.
 It'm Reseyd of Roberd Taylar for Rente iijs.
 It'm Reseyd of M^r Vykery for Rente vjs.
 It'm Reseyd of Wynchester for Rente xs.
 It'm Reseyd of Nycolas prestman for Rente xxij*d*.
 It'm Reseyd of the mayall & aule costys & chargys borne xxxs.
 iiij*d*.
 It'm Reseyd of thomas Wynchester & Wyllyam hause lytemen to
 the blesyd sepulchur lytte xs.

S^o of thys yers iiij*li*. xjs. ix*d*.

S^o total of oure whole yers charge xxvij*li*. iijs. ix*d*.

In þmis for washyng of the churche gere iijs. iiij*d*.
 It'm payd for washyng & grund pynnyng of the barne iijs. iiij*d*.
 It'm payde unto Wynchester for stud tymber viij*d*.
 It'm payde for a lode of straue for the same barne ijs.
 It'm payde for a lode of roddys for the same barne iijs. viij*d*.
 It'm payde unto the maysun for makyng the chemny & the hovyn
 xijs.
 It'm payde for iiij q^o of lyme iijs.
 It'm payde unto hary nycolas for caryge of brike & erthe & sand
 & stonys iijs. iiij*d*.
 It'm payde unto grase of tryng for viij treys & the fellyng xijs. x*d*.
 It'm payde for bred & drynke for caryg of the sam tymber viij*d*.

- It'm payde unto John smythe for tymber vijs. vjd.
 It'm payde for caryg of the sam tymber vjs. viijd.
 It'm payde unto Mr. vykary for iij treys iijs.
 It'm payde for making of the huse hofer the chemney & the houyn
 xijs. iijd.
 It'm payde for ij m tyll vijs.
 It'm payde for caryg of the sam tyle iijs.
 It'm payde for a m tyll at brykehyl vs.
 It'm payde for a q of lyme at brykehyl xvjd.
 It'm payde for caryg of the sam tyll & lyme xijd.
 It'm payde for iij c lathe 4 xxjd.
 It'm payde for xij c lathe nayle xijd.
 It'm payde for gret nayllys vjd.
 It'm payde unto the sauers for sauynge the frame of the kechyn
 hus ijs. vjd.
 It'm payde unto the tayler for vj Days worke ijs.
 It'm payde for the same tyler bord xvijd.
 It'm payde unto brynkeley for sarvyng the sam tyler ijd.
 It'm payde unto the elokemaker xxjd.
 It'm payde for mendyng of a loke & a neu key for the stepuldore
 vjd.
 It'm payde for mendyng of a vestmente xvjd.
 It'm payde for mendyng of the beste cope ijd.
 It'm payde for changyng of a chalys vs.
 It'm payde for a lantern viijd.
 It'm payde for a vyer chule vjd.
 It'm payde for whyte threde jd.
 It'm payde for the lorde Rentt of the cher hase xviijd.
 S' vli. xviijs. iijd.

 It'm payd for the nelyng of the houyn viijd.
 It'm payd to Dyxsun for dygyng of herthe ijd.
 It'm payd unto thomas leucas for caryge of herthe xijd.
 It'm payd unto Marten for palyng viijs. iijd.
 It'm payd for a senser & a holy water vjs.
 It'm payd for ij pakys xjd.
 It'm payd unto the plomer vs.
 It'm payd for nayllys & collys iijd. ob.
 It'm payd for bartelats huse of ledburne for mersements vjd.
 It'm payd for ij neu aubbys vs. vjd.
 It'm payd for caryg of the sam haubys ijd.
 It'm payd unto the sexten xs.
 It'm payd for going ij tymys unto the chapter corte iijd.
 It'm payd for borde to make a dore & a wyndo in the neu huse
 xijd.
 It'm payd for ij hanggys & ij hokes for the same dore vd.
 It'm payd for making a the sam dore & wyndo vd.
 It'm payd unto thomas lukas for hyptyllys viijd.

It'm payd unto thomas noddys for daubyng and grandpynnyng
viiij*l.*

& hutte sette of olde dett that he hoytte to the cherehe iiij*s.*

S' xlijs. ij*l.* ob.

S' tot'l of oure whole dyscharge viij*l.* xvij*l.* ob.

So there remaynythe there in the chyrehe box xix*l.* ijs. ij*l.* ob.

Anno domini m^oxxviii^o

M^d that thys be the Ac'ounts of me Wyllyam Jakeman, nycolas
bucmaster, Wyllyam Capman, John funten, churche wardens
of Wynges, from the feste of the blessyde trynitye in the yere
of our lorde gode m^oxxviii^o unto the sam day thevlfe
monthe, and fyrst our Reseyts for the hole yere, & nexte for
hower dyschargys for the same yere

In prymis resevid in Redy mony of Wyllyam a Welde, thomas
saunders, hary nycolas, Ralfe a bourro, for the yere laste paste
xix*l.* ijs. ij*l.* ob.

It'm rec'd of Wyllyam lukase & Rafe a burro lyghtmen to the
blessed sepulkur ix*s.*

It'm rec'd of thomas Wynchester for halfe a yere rente vs.

It'm rec'd for a nolde lanterne iiij*l.*

It'm rec'd of thomas Wynchester for a nolde Roppe viij*l.*

It'm rec'd of barlat for halfe a yer Rente iijs. ij*l.*

It'm rec'd of thomas buemaster for Saynt Mary way in burcote
felde ij*l.*

It'm rec'd of thomas wynchester & thomas hur'dole torche lytemen
iijs. ij*l.*

It'm rec'd of Wyllyam capman for Crofton hoke all iiij*s.*

It'm rec'd of Mr. Vykerie for a yeres Rente vjs.

It'm rec'd of thomas Wynchester for crystmas quarter ijs. vj*l.*

It'm at Wytsuntide rec'd of the mayalle xxxijs.

It'm rec'd of Roberd taylor at hower lady day for a yere Rente iiij*s.*

It'm rec'd of bartelate for halfe a yere Rente iijs. ij*l.*

S' of thys whole yere accownt of the forsayde Wyllyam
Jakeman & others, the church wardens afore sayde
xxij*l.* xvjs. iiij*l.* ob.

In primis payde for a Roppe for the Cloke ijs. ij*l.*

It'm payd to the lavnder x*l.*

It'm payd to the lavnder for mendyng of the haubys iiij*l.*

It'm payde for the lordys Rente ix*l.*

It'm payde to the sexten for a q waygys ijs. vj*l.*

It'm payde to the klokemaker for a yere waygys xx*l.*

It'm payde to the pluier ijs.

It'm payde for a neve manvell xx*l.*

It'm payde to the launder for myckylmas q't x*l.*

It'm payde for a Dyrge & masse xiiij*l.*
 It'm payde for makyng of the cherehe gate vj*l.*
 It'm payde for tymber for the same gatte vj*l.*
 It'm payde to the lavnder for crystemas q't x*l.*
 It'm payde for ij hāmys v*l.*
 It'm payde for ij gyrdells ij*l.*
 It'm payde for a navter clothe vs.
 It'm payd to the glasyer for mēdyng the cherehe wyndoys vs. iiij*l.*
 It'm payd for iiij c nayllys ix*l.*
 It'm payde to kyrstofer & to John dyxson for helping the pluīer
 v*l.*
 It'm payde to John dyxson for hegeyng ij*l.*
 It'm payde to the plommer for castyng the lede and layyng x*l.*
 It'm payde to John smethe for mēdyng a bele clapper iiij*l.*
 It'm payde for a byssshell of collys j*l.*
 It'm payde for halloyng of ij havbys viij*l.*
 It'm payde for halloyng of ij vestemēts viij*l.*
 It'm payde to thomas clarke for makyng the molde for the ploīer
 vj*l.*
 It'm payde to the lavnder for hower lady day q*l.* x*l.*
 It'm payde to the sexten for hower lady day q*l.* ijs. vj*l.*
 It'm payde to Edmund fileuter for makyng a bele clapper vjs. ix*l.*
 It'm payde to the ploīer for brassyng huppe the lede ijs. vj*l.*
 It'm payde to the lordys Rente for halfeyere at hower lady day ix*l.*
 It'm payde for naylys for the plumer ij*l.*
 It'm payde to thomas Wynchester for halfe a yere waygys vs.
 It'm bowte xx q*l.* barley & iiij bushells y^t made in mavlte a the same
 pryse v*l.* xjs. x*l.*
 It'm payde unto Wyllyam lukase for fannying of the same mavlte v*l.*
 S^t of thys whole yere dyscharge of me Wyll'm Jakeman
 and others chyche wardens w^t me ffor thys fforesayde
 yere x*l.* i. x*l.*

That the xx day of hoctober in the yer for wryttun Alowyd to
 Wyllyam Hanse by the sente of the hole p'yshe towerd the
 lose the weeche he sayd he had yn the mavlte bowte of the
 p'yshe as ys aforseyd by the cause the stufe wase so corse
 stufe & aule so he lakyd of hys nener ... alowyd vjs. viij*l.*

So there remaynyth in oure hands al thyngs alowyd xvj*l.* xvs.
 v*l.* ob. more xx q*l.* of malt wyche ys solde to Wyll'm
 hawys for vj*l.* xiijs. iiij*l.* where of ij*l.* ijs. viij*l.* to be
 p^d at lāmas day next c̄yng & the other ij*l.* ijs. viij*l.* to be
 p^d on Saynt Edwards day next c̄yng wyche xij*l.*
 xvs. v*l.* ob. w^t the sede v*l.* xiijs. iiij*l.* now owyd by
 Wyll'm hawys ys delyerd unto Thomas flonteyne of Crof-
 ton, Rycharde bokemastyr, John bate & thomas herndalle
 now eletyd chyche wardens for thys next yere flollowyng
 S^t delyevyd xix*l.* viijs. ix*l.* ob.

And more they have delyveryd for a spon of sylver solde iijs. x*l.*

Nicolas Lucas, John Dycon lytemen of oure lady lyte have in there hands then xixs. iiij*l*.

Robert Dawbeney, Nicolas Mayne lytemen of Seynt Kateryns lyte have then in there hands xxs. x*l*.

Robert ffonteyne, thomas Bokmastyr lytemen of Mary Mawdelen and seynt thomas have then in there hands xvs. hafe the wex

Thomas Wynchester, John Marteyne lytemen for the torchys have in there hands all thys thyngs alowyd xxxixs. ix*l*.

Wyllm Hawys, John Newland lytemen of the rode have in there hands then ixs. ij*l*. and hafe a ponde wex

Anno domini m^od^oxxix^o

M^d that thys be the Acoũnts of me thomas funte, Rycheerde bukemaster, thomas hurndell, John batte church wardens of Wynges from the feste of the blessyd trynyte in the yere of our lorde gode m^od^oxxix^o unto the same day thevlfe monthe and fyrst our Reseyts for the hole yere & nexte for hower dyscharyngs for the same yere

In prymis reseuyde in Redy mon' of Wylliam Jakeman, nycolas bukemaster, Wylliam capman, John funte in the yere last paste xix*l*. ijs. j*l*. ob. and ijs. x*l*. for a spon, xix*l*. vs. xj*l*.

It'm Reseuyd of thom's Sandurs & Robert Korker lytemen to the blessyde Sepvlkur xijs. iiij*l*. ob.

It'm Reseuyd of recheerde barlet for a yeres Rente vjs. iiij*l*.

It'm Reseuyd of roberd foryode for a q Rente xij*l*.

It'm Reseuyd of Mr. Vykere for a holl yere Rente vjs.

It'm Reseuyd of coftun hokealle ijs.

It'm Reseuyd of Ser John Jhesse for halfe a yer Rente viij*l*.

It'm Reseuyd of thomas Wynchester for h' a yers Rente vs.

It'm Reseuyd of thomas Clarke for h' a yers Rente ijs. iiij*l*.

It'm Reseuyd for lede aschys ijs. viij*l*.

It'm mayde of hower mayalle there (clere) xxxs.

It'm receuyd of John howeyn for rent of a schope longyng too the church house xij*l*.

It' receuyd of thomas bukemaster for sent Mary way ij*l*.

S' tot'l rec' xxij*l*. xvijs. j*l*.

It'm payde for mēdyng of a bel clapper ijs. iiij*l*.

It'm payde unto the sexten for a yere waygys xs.

It'm payde for iiij lode of tymber p^r ixs.

It'm payde for pallyng of Wynchester yerd vs.

It'm payde for a nev thymbyll for a gatte for the sam yerd iiij*l*.

It'm payde to the lavnder for a yere wasyng ijs. iiij*l*.

It'm payde for bordys to make dorys & wyndos x*l*.

It'm payde for tymber for mendyng the cherchus hende ijs. iiij*l*.

It'm payde for caryng of the same tymber x*l*.

It'm payde for nayllys xj*l*.

It'm payde for makyng the churchuse hende & the gattys dorrys
 & wyndoyes vjd.
 It'm payde for caryng of herthe vd.
 It'm for Roddys iijd.
 It'm for hokys & thymbylls & lachys for the cherche gattys xvd.
 It'm payde for tulle lyme lathe & naylle vjs. ijd. ob.
 It'm payde to the tyllar vjs.
 It'm to hys mane iijs. ix d.
 It'm payde for the cherchuse Rente ix d.
 It'm for kepyng of avl soul Durge xjd.
 It'm payde to the clokemaker xx d.
 It'm for mendyng a loke and a keye iiij d.
 It'm for mendyng of the bellys iijs. vijd.
 It'm for naylls for the same ijd.
 Payde for makyng of the cloke hamur ijd.
 It'm payde unto the pluiner for nallys & mendyng of the leddys
 A bowte the cherche xiiij d.
 It'm payd unto Mr. Morrys for tymber xvjd.
 It'm payde for A neu polle & settyng hon the latthys A pone the
 cherche gattys iiij d.
 It'm payde for halfe A c' wexe xxijs. viij d.
 It'm payde for mendyng of the sepylcur vjd.
 It'm payde for collys at Ester jd. ob.
 It'm payde for mendyng of the bannar clothys and the surplys xij d.
 It'm payde for the churchuse rente ix d.
 It'm payde for a loke ijd.
 It'm payde for a bokul for a baudryke jd. ob.
 Sm' iiij li. xiijs. xjd. ob. of oure dyscharge

So there re^t in oure handys xvij li. vjs. vjd. ob. whych ys now
 delyuryd to Robert Seybrok, Thomas Norcutt, Rycharde Dygar
 & Rycharde Smythe now electyd chyrchewardens for the yere next
 folowyng whereof viij li. ys delyuryd yn to the hands of Robt. Do...
 and John Amore to by wax for the chyrche.

ON THE RELICS AND MEMENTOS OF MARY STUART.¹

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read 7th December 1887.*)

COLD, callous, and insensible must be the heart that feels no thrill of interest when the name of Mary Stuart is uttered. What magic is there in those two short words, what deep emotion of love, of pity, and regret do they not evoke! There is a charm in them for every rank, in every land, and for all ages. And well may it be so, for where is there another life-drama with such a heroine as Mary Stuart, or one so crowded with scenes of love and gallantry, brave pageantry and revels, dark plots and counter-plots, fierce conflicts, and deeds of blood and mystery! Scenes now bright and glowing as a summer's morn, now bleak and cheerless as a murky night in winter; and in which appear the dying James, the Queen-Mother, the Regents Morton and Murray, the sickly Dauphin, the worthless Darnley, the monster Bothwell, the arrogant Rizzio, the fiery Knox, the stately Elizabeth. From the first moment of her birth a romantic career seemed marked out for Mary Stuart. Ushered into the world amid the howl of tempest, whilst her royal sire was stretched upon the bed of death, she was received by him with a sigh, and with the dismal prophecy that "With a lassie came the crown of the Stuarts, and with a lassie it will pass away." A queen at eight days old, Mary soon became the object of jealousy and ambition, the shuttlecock of factions, the focus of conspiracy, the culminating point of revolution. Her childhood spent as it were in exile in a foreign court, thrice a wife and twice a widow in seven brief years, her riper womanhood passed in cap-

¹ This paper was compiled long since, and was packed away with other matters, and quite forgotten, until the tercentenary of the Queen's death, and the exhibition of her relics at Peterborough, again brought it to mind.

tivity, her tragic death and double burial, are all events which would invest the history of any one with deep and stirring interest; and when that one is numbered among earth's fairest children—weak, frail, and helpless, though scion of a long race of kings, queen and queen-dowager of two proud nations, and mother of him in whom seemed to be fulfilled the ancient legend of the *Lia Fail*—the interest becomes augmented a thousand-fold, and we eagerly press forward to catch at every relic and memento that will bring us, in ever so slight a degree, in contact with Scotland's lovely and ill-fated monarch.

The mementos of Mary Stuart commence with the place of her nativity, Linlithgow Palace, where the room is still pointed out in which she drew her first breath, on December 8th, 1542.

So few objects connected with Mary's childhood have survived to anything approaching modern times, that mention must here be made of the hawthorn tree which she is said to have planted at Duddingstone, near Holyrood, but a month or so before she quitted Scotland for the Continent. The sapling took fast root, and flourished through a good long life; but decay at length came upon it, and the furious gale of Monday, June 1st, 1840, levelled it to the earth; and then came the scramble for relics of *Queen Mary's Thorn*, and bits of its aged trunk and branches, wrought and unwrought, found a ready market.

At the age of six years the young Queen was carried to France, and in the convent of St. Germain-en-Lays acquired that skill in embroidery which enabled her to leave so many proofs of her handiwork. It is asserted that she wrought an altar-piece for the church of this establishment, and many a screen and yard of tapestry are pointed out in France as the production of Mary Stuart.

Mary had scarcely reached her sixteenth birthday when she became the bride of the youthful Dauphin, afterwards Francis II; and with this marriage, which took place at Notre Dame, Paris, April 20th, 1558, her relics begin to multiply.¹

¹ Some medalets, presumed to relate to Mary Stuart's marriage to the Dauphin, and others to her union with Lord Darnley, are described in this *Journal*, vol. xii, p. 174.

On June 1st, 1848, the Rev. Alexander Torrance, of Glencorse, exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland a solitaire which the Dauphin presented to the Queen on the eve of their nuptials. It represents a Cupid playing with a mouse, and is set with table-cut jewels and pearls, with this motto on the *dos*: "*Simplex apares, Simplicitate cares.*" The Queen is represented with this solitaire in a picture by a French nun in the possession of the Earl of Buchan.

What has become of another present which Mary received from Francis,—the famous silver-gilt casket surmounted by the cipher of the donor, and which the Queen afterwards gave to Bothwell, and in which, in 1567, were found documents proving that she was accessory to the murder of Darnley? Is this casket still in being?

In the Saffron Walden Museum is preserved a French fan, painted on fine white kid leather, and having elaborately pierced-work of pearl-shell, which tradition states was used by the young Queen at her nuptials with Francis; and the marriage-horn of Mary and the Dauphin, with the date 1558, was submitted to her Most Gracious Majesty by Messrs. Falke on November 16th, 1849.

Mary's coinage, from 1558 to 1560, indicates her connection with France, for it bears the arms of France and Scotland impaled, the initials of Francis and Mary in monogram, and in some instances their profile busts *vis-à-vis*.¹ Their great seal as King and Queen of France, Scotland, England, and Ireland, with titles and effigies, is described in this *Journal*, vol. xxiv, p. 349.²

On the death of Henry II, on July 10th, 1559, the crowns of France and Scotland became united under his son Francis II and Mary Stuart, and there exists a highly interesting relic in which their joint sovereignty is recorded. It is a watch which the King presented to the Queen the very year in which he died. It repre-

¹ The latter piece is called a testoon by some, whilst others regard it as a medal.

² The reputed signet of Mary, which is really that of Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I, is described in this *Journal*, xi, p. 76; xvii, p. 223.

sents a skull graven with the arms of the two countries in separate shields on each side the jaws, and this legend, "*Ex Dono Fr. R. Fr. Ad Mariam. Reg. Scotorum Et Fr.*", and the date 1560. This curious *memento mori* watch was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on November 14th, 1822.

Among other Marian relics referable to the period of the Queen's sojourn in France is the beautiful jewel represented in this *Journal*, viii, 372. This valuable trinket is in the form of a cross, or rather two crosses, the smaller one, of silver, being fixed on the front of a much larger one, of enamelled gold, which is pendent from a royal crown, the whole enriched with pearls and rubies. The smaller cross appears to be of older date than the larger one, which is believed to be of French workmanship; and certainly the swelling limbs bear a close resemblance to the fleur-de-lis, and point to France as its birthplace.

It is stated in the *Mirror*, vol. x, p. 206, that a celebrated German actress, named Hendel-Schutz, who performed Schiller's *Maria* with great applause in several cities of Germany, affirmed that a cross which she wore on her neck was the very same that once belonged to the unfortunate Mary Stuart. Can this be the jewel given in our *Journal*?

In the Countess of Wilton's *Art of Needlework*, p. 384, notice is taken of the canopy which was placed in the presence-chamber at Whitehall, on which Queen Mary is said to have wrought an impalement of the arms of France and Scotland, ensigned by an imperial crown. The date of this work would be between April 1558 and December 1560.

Another relic of Mary as Queen of France is the chair of state, engraved by Montfaucon, of which a woodcut may be seen in the *Mirror*, xxiv, 440. It is a straight high-backed arm-chair, with fringed and embroidered cloth hanging over the splat or cross-bar, and a similar decoration falls beneath the stuffed cushion.

In C. J. Smith's *Historical and Literary Curiosities* is an engraving of a beautiful enamelled jewel which was given to George Gordon, fourth Earl of Huntly, by Queen Mary whilst she was in France. This delicate

trinket consists of two distinct objects united by a twisted skein of silk. The one is a Cupid shooting with bow and arrow, and poised on one foot upon a heart transfixcd by a dart. This heart is of red enamel, and its front has been set with a gem now lost, and on its *dos*, in white letters, are the words "*Willingly Wounded*". From its point depends a somewhat campanulate ornament, enamelled, and set with a small ruby. Attached to the other end of the silken skein is a small ivory skull, to the lower part of which is fixed a lock of Mary's hair, of a light auburn hue, inclining to golden.

Mary became a widow on December 5th, 1560, and in August of the following year she quitted France and passed over to her ancestral domain of Scotland. Translations of the *Lament* which she composed in French on this occasion may be read in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1787, p. 1178; and May 1790, p. 450.

On Mary's return from France in 1561, she is said to have brought with her a plane tree, which she planted at Holyrood. This Gallic tree was blown down in 1817, and from its timber small boxes and other trifles were made and sold as mementos of the Queen.

The next memorial of the Queen which demands attention is the old yew tree at Crookstone Castle. Tradition tells that it was beneath the spreading branches of this yew that Mary and the Lord Darnley often sat in sweet converse during the happiest hours of their acquaintance, ere marriage had convinced each how ill-suited the one was for the other. At a later period of her chequered life it was under the shade of these same branches that she anxiously awaited the news of the result of the fight at Langside, on May 13th, 1568. Many a leaf and fragment of bark have been rived from this famous tree as a memento of poor Mary, and preserved, as if some occult virtue dwelt therein. A solicitor named Fisher, who, in the first quarter of the present century, resided in Gray's Inn, possessed a beautiful goblet carved out of one of the branches of this venerated tree, and on which was inscribed—

"This relic of Queen Mary's yew
Near Crookstone Castle lately grew;
Its spreading boughs, so leafy green,
Oft sheltered Scotland's beauteous Queen."

Miss Agnes Strickland had what was believed to be a love-gift from Mary to Darnley—the cuff or top of a glove of white satin, decorated with two full-faced masks of stamped metal, and worked by the Queen with tulip-like flowers and other devices in coloured silks and gold thread, interspersed with small spangles, and with a gold fringe round the edges.

From mementos of Mary's courtship with Darnley we pass on to those of her betrothal and marriage, on July 29th, 1565. In the *Archæological Journal*, 1857, p. 299, is engraved what has been regarded as a betrothal gift from Mary to Darnley, which was found near Fotheringay Castle, and became the property of Edmund Waterton, of Walton Hall, near Wakefield. It is a gold signet-ring, with the letters H.M. in monogram, the initials of Mary and Henry, with a true-love knot above and below them. Within the hoop is engraved a small escutcheon, charged with a lion rampant, and surmounted by an arched crown: but the tressure is omitted in the shield, on one side of which is HENRI. L; on the other DARNLEY, and below, 1565.

There is in the British Museum what has been termed the nuptial ring of Mary and Darnley. It was formerly in the possession of Queen Charlotte, from whom it passed to the Duke of York, and when his jewels and plate were sold by Christie, in March 1827, it was purchased by Mr. Richard Green, of Lichfield, for the sum of fourteen guineas. This signet-ring is of gold, weighing 212 grains. The hoop has been chased with foliage and flowers, and enamelled. The signum is the royal achievement of Scotland, graven on crystal or white sapphire of oval form, measuring about three-quarters of an inch by five-eighths. The crest, on a helmet with mantlings, and ensigned with a crown, is a lion sejant, affronté, crowned, holding in his dexter paw a naked sword, and in the sinister a sceptre, both bendwise. Above the crest is the motto IN DEFENS; and, parted by the crown, the initials M.R. The shield is surrounded by the collar of the Thistle, with the badge, and supported by two unicorns chained and ducally gorged. On the dexter side is a banner charged with the arms of Scotland; on the sinister another with three bars; over

all a saltire. The heraldic tinctures are given on the back of the stone either by enamel or paint, and the field or background is of a dark blue colour. Within the hoop of the ring is a cipher, originally enamelled, inclosed by a band, and ensigned by a crown. There is an engraving of this ring in the *Archæological Journal* of 1858, p. 252, accompanied by a description by the late Albert Way, from which the above is chiefly culled.

The marriage of Mary and Daruley was solemnised on July 29th, 1565. when their profile busts, *vis-à-vis*, appeared on the national coinage.

The year 1564 was one fraught with misery to Scotland and to Scotland's Queen, for then it was that the Count De Moretto, ambassador from the court of Savoy, brought hither in his suite the crafty coxcomb David Rizzio or Ricci, who, though only the son of a Turin dancing-master, became, by his arts and insinuations, the secretary, the confidant, the councillor, and heaven knows what else, of the too susceptible Mary. It is a reputed relic of this royal favourite that next claims mention—namely, his ivory-headed walking-stick, inscribed SIGR . DA . RIZZO . MDLXVI, the year in which he fell dagger-pierced in the presence of his indulgent mistress. This relic is in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, Edinburgh, having been presented thereunto, in 1782, by Mr. John Ewen, a merchant of Aberdeen.

In Tytler's *History of Scotland* (v, 372) it is stated that George Douglas stabbed Rizzio over the Queen's shoulder, and her apparel might thus become bespattered with his blood; and, towards the close of last century, an official at Holyrood found, concealed behind the tapestry in Mary's apartment, part of a blood-stained dress, and a quantity of point lace which was conjectured to have been worn by her Majesty at the time of her favourite's murder, and some of which lace is said to be still existing. It was in a room adjoining the Queen's bed-chamber, on the second floor of the palace of Holyrood, that the fatal strokes were given to the arrogant Italian; and here, according to Arnot, towards the outer door of the apartment, there are in the floor large dusky spots, said to have been occasioned by Rizzio's blood

staining the floor, which washing of the boards has not been able to take out. In the Catalogue of the Gothic Hall, Pall Mall, 1820, p. 11, is the following: "An old Scotch dagger with carved ivory handle. This instrument was one of those employed in the murder of David Rizzio (the alleged favourite of Mary Queen of Scots); it was found behind the arras where he was assassinated."

It was not long ere Darnley shared the fate of Rizzio; and in the Bateman Museum, at Lomberdale House, Derbyshire, is this curious relic of the victim to revenge and lust: "Small portion of skin from the body of Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots."

We must not linger over Darnley's murder, in the Kirk o' Field, on February 10th, 1567, nor on the flight of Mary and Bothwell to his Castle of Dunbar, and their subsequent marriage, at Edinburgh, on May 15th; and yet it is needful that these events should be borne in mind, for they are so many links in the chain which guide us to the Queen's confinement in Lochleven Castle, Kinross-shire, with which the next relics to mention are connected.

Mary, from the first to almost the last days of her captivity, seemed to have whiled away her time with needlework, and in a chamber called the Queen's Room, on the west side of the palace of Scone, is a bed of crimson velvet embroidered with flowers, which are said to have been wrought by Mary during her imprisonment at Lochleven; and several other smaller pieces of tapestry are attributed to this period of her life.¹

In the museum of the Andersonian University is a watch which is believed to have been used by Queen Mary whilst at Lochleven, and which was found in her apartment immediately after her escape from the castle, May 2nd, 1568. This ancient timekeeper is of large size, oval, having no glass, but contained in a case like a

¹ The late Mr. Christopher Lynch exhibited at our evening meeting of February 23rd, 1853, a piece of needlework which is said to have been wrought by Mary during her captivity in England. It represents a small two-handled vase standing on a table (the top of which is alone shown), and in which are three or four large flowers, the whole executed in silks of various colours. A record of this exhibit is given in this *Journal*, ix, p. 85. At Greystock Castle, Cumberland, is a crucifixion in needlework by Mary Stuart.

hunting-watch, made of a metal resembling pinchbeck. The dial-plate is elaborately engraved with a view of a town. It is wound up by means of catgut, and bears the maker's name, F. Le Grande.

If tradition is to be credited, Mary, whilst at Lochleven, planted in 1567 a thorn tree, from the timber of which, in later times, have been turned boxes and other *souvenirs*.

After eleven months' imprisonment at Lochleven, Mary, as just stated, effected her escape on May 2nd, 1568; and it is noted in the *Gent. Mag.*, April 1831, p. 351, that when the loch was partially drained there was found, near the "*Mary Knowe*", where she is supposed to have landed, a sceptre, which is conjectured was lost on the occasion. The shaft appears to be of cane, with an ivory handle, and mounted with silver, graven with the words "*Mary Queen of Scots*".¹

From Lochleven Mary took refuge, first in Niddrie Castle, and then in Hamilton Castle, and on Sunday, May 16th, 1568, she arrived at Workington, in Cumberland, thus quitting Scotland for ever, and soon after becoming a prisoner in Carlisle Castle. It is needless to follow her from one place of confinement to another; it is enough for our purpose to know that in 1570 she was lodged at Chatsworth, for there her relics once more come to notice. Part of the hangings of the bed in which the Queen here slept, and which is said to have been wrought by her own hands, was formerly preserved in the Leverian Museum, having been presented to Sir Ashton Lever in 1798 by a Miss Marshall of Chelsea, who had obtained it immediately from Chatsworth. It was a piece of tapestry of fawn-coloured silk worked with gold thread, and had suffered much from the effects of time. When the Leverian Museum was sold off, in 1806, a man named Fillinham helped himself to a portion of this venerable relic, and some forty years since gave a modicum of it to my late father, which I still possess.

In an inn in the Peak Forest, Derbyshire, used to be shown a stately four-post bedstead of oak, which was

¹ I have a large French Iris fan of *circa* 1800, on one side of which is a coloured engraving of Mary's escape from Lochleven.

said to have belonged to Mary Stuart, and on which her fair form often reclined. It was quite as early as her time, and richly carved, the back and head being filled with panel-work displaying various devices. There is an engraving of this royal relic in the *Mirror*, xxxvi, p. 401, where mention is also made of a pair of plain gold ear-rings, which the proprietor stated were presented by Mary to an ancestor of his who acted as waiting-woman to the Queen during her imprisonment at Chatsworth.

From Chatsworth the Queen was carried to Chartley Castle, and other places, and was at length conveyed to Fotheringay Castle, Northamptonshire, where she arrived September 25th, 1586, and where, four months later, she closed her sad career upon the scaffold, erected at the upper end of the great hall. It is with the last scene of her eventful life that the next relics are connected.

Mignet, in his *History of Queen Mary*, says, when speaking of the fatal morning of February 8th, 1587, that "at daybreak she arose, saying that she had only two hours to live. She picked out one of her handkerchiefs with a fringe of gold, as a bandage for her eyes on the scaffold, and dressed herself with a stern magnificence." The writer goes on to state that the Queen "had already distributed to her attendants on the previous evening her rings, jewels, furniture, and dresses; and she now gave them the purses which she had prepared for them, and in which she had enclosed, in small sums, the five thousand crowns which remained over to her." Some of these parting gifts are said to still exist. Among others may be mentioned a beautiful glove in the Saffron Walden Museum. This glove is for the left hand, and made of light buff leather richly embroidered with gold and silver thread, with spangles intermingled, and edged with gold lace. The tradition is that it was presented by the Queen, on the morning of her death, to a gentleman of the Dayrell family, who was in attendance on her at Fotheringay.¹

¹ In the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a pair of long white leather gloves embroidered with black silk, which were presented to the Society by Mr. George Cairncross in 1788, and which were described by the donor as having been the property of the Queen of Scotland.

Another relic is spoken of by a writer in the *Gent. Mag.*, May 1787, p. 381, who says: "While Mary Queen of Scots was a prisoner in Fotheringhay Castle, just before her execution she made a present of her watch to the governor of the castle, as a token of gratitude for his civil treatment of her. That governor is said to have been an ancestor of the present Earl Fitzwilliam. The watch has been in the possession of so many different persons since, that it was scarcely known who had it till, on a late occasion, Lady Godolphin restored it to the family that originally possessed it; for she stood sponsor to Lord Fitzwilliam's son and heir, and made the infant a present of the watch."

Mary, the night before her death, gave to Sir James Balfour of Burleigh what has been called her *Candle-cup*, which is, in fact, a covered tankard of agate, five inches in height, with handle and mounts of silver, bearing the plate-mark of a unicorn's head erased. The handle is ornamented in relief with a lion's head and a rose. There is an engraving of this vessel in the *Archæological Journal* for 1858, p. 266. The last moments of Mary Stuart were fast approaching. We read, in Martyn's *History of England*, 1638, pp. 735-6, that "she getteth up, and maketh her ready, neat and fine in her holiday array; habited very modestly and matron-like, her head covered with a linnen veile, and the same hanging downe, her beads hanging by her side, and carrying an ivorie crucifix in her hand—she falling upon her knees, and holding up the crucifixe in both her hands, prayed with her servants in Latine, out of the Office of the Blessed Virgin." Mignet says that Mary advanced towards the fatal scaffold bearing a "crucifix in one hand and a Prayer-Book in the other, dressed in the widow's garb which she used to wear on days of great solemnity, consisting of a gown of dark crimson velvet with black satin corsage, from which chaplets and scapularies were suspended, and which was surmounted by a cloak of figured satin of the same colour, with a long train lined with sable, a standing-up collar, and hanging sleeves. A white veil was thrown over her, reaching from her head to her feet." This same white veil is said to have long been kept as a family treasure by the

exiled house of Stuart, and was bequeathed by Cardinal York to Sir John Cox Hippisley, who had an engraving made of it at Rome in 1818 by Matteo Diottavi. The veil is 89 inches long by 43 broad, and is embroidered with gold spangles by the Queen's own hands, in regular rows crossing each other, so as to form small squares, and edged with a gold border, to which another border has been subsequently joined, in which the following inscription is wrought in gold thread, each letter consisting of double lines filled in with small spangles: "Velum serenissimæ Mariæ Scotiæ et Galliæ Reginæ et Martyris quo induebatur Dum ab hereticis ad mortem injustissimam condemnata fuit anno salutis MDLXXXVI a nobilissima matrona Anglica diu religiose conservatum et tandem devotionis ergo Deo et societati Jesus consecratum." The inscription on the veil is contracted; it is here given at full length. The Society of Jesus received this precious relic from Anne, wife of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who obtained it at the time of the Queen's death; but it is not known how it was recovered by the Stuarts.

The Prayer-Book which Mary employed on the scaffold was a copy of the *Officium Marianum*, and the English Dominicans at Bornhem, in Flanders, long believed that they had it in possession. It was stated to have been presented to the Queen by Pope Pius V, and is described as a MS on very fine vellum, beautifully illuminated, and having letters of burnished gold and flowers, and containing a diurnal of the saints, each one separately depicted. The volume is covered with crimson velvet, and has silver clasps and plates. On a blank leaf at the end is written—"Deare Kate, when thys you see remembre your lovyng mistresse Mary." The Kate here mentioned has been conjectured to be Katharine Kennedy, the faithful attendant on the Queen from her first incarceration at Lochleven to her last moments at Fotheringay. Doubts have been expressed as to the calligraphy, which is thought by some to more resemble that of Mary I of England than that of Mary Stuart; but, if so, who was "Deare Kate"?

The rosary which Mary carried with her to the scaffold she bequeathed to the Countess of Arundel, and it is

now the property of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk. It consists of fifty-four large gilt beads, and depending from it is an enamelled crucifix with a pearl hanging from each limb of the cross.¹

Mary was decapitated by the London executioner, whom Robert Beale had carried down with him when he conveyed the death-warrant to Fotheringay. Her body, after being embalmed, was placed in a leaden coffin, and buried by torchlight, with solemn pomp, in the south side of the choir in the cathedral of Peterborough, July 1587, her grave being dug by the celebrated old Scaleits, who had also dug the grave of Katharine of Aragon, the first wife of Henry VIII. Here her remains rested until the year 1612, when her son, King James I, had them removed to Westminster and interred with regal magnificence in Henry VII's Chapel; Cornelius Cure, the King's master mason, being employed to raise a sumptuous monument to her memory, but dying before its completion, the work was finished by his son, William Cure.

It would seem that during the removal of Mary's body from Peterborough to Westminster, or at some subsequent period, one of the richly-wrought handles of her coffin got detached and purloined, and at length became the property of the late William Upcott, at the sale of whose prints and curiosities, in June 1846, it formed Lot 475, and was purchased by Rodd for two guineas. The pedigree of this handle is best told by an extract from *The Portfolio*, 12mo., 1822: "This elegant relic, one of the eight handles that were attached to the splendid coffin which received the remains of the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots, when conveyed to Westminster, was formerly in the possession of Dr. Richard Mead, Physician to King George II, and of great antiquarian reputation, at whose death (in 1754) it was sold, and passed through various hands, till at length it

¹ In the collection of portraits and relics of Mary Stuart brought together in Suffolk Street by the Archaeological Institute in 1857, was a rosary of black wooden beads, from which is pendent an octagonal frame containing a picture of the Virgin, which is believed to have belonged to the Queen of Scots. It was exhibited by Henry Butterworth, Esq., and was previously the property of the Earls of Blessington.

became the property of Samuel Tyson, of Narborough Hall, Norfolk, Esq. It was afterwards purchased at the sale of Mr. Wilson, by Mr. Joseph Miller, the well-known antiquary, of Barnard's Inn, who very obligingly allowed it to be copied. The handle and device are of copper, and were originally double-gilt. The extreme length is fourteen inches and a half; the width, one foot. Excepting the handle, the whole is flat, and partially engraved. The initials M. R. appear above the handle." The collection of the above-mentioned W. Wilson, of the Minories, was sold on June 14th, 1809; the relic in question, forming Lot 25, was thus described in the catalogue: "A magnificent brass handle and ornament, with the initials M. R. wrought in it, taken from the coffin of Mary Queen of Scots, and fixed on a modern piece of mahogany."

We have now, with the aid of relics, traced the career of the ill-starred Mary Stuart from the cradle to the grave. They have guided us from Linlithgow to the shores of France, from the convent of St. Germain to the licentious court of Francis I and Mary de Medicis. They have shown her as the bride of the Dauphin and as the Queen of France. They have carried our thoughts back again to Scotland, and the days when her heart throbbed with affection for Darnley, to the moment when her favourite Rizzio was butchered in her chamber, and to the dismal period of her nineteen years' captivity, first in her native land, and next in England—the land she so much coveted to call her own. Fotheringay, Peterborough, Westminster, each speak of Mary Stuart, each is a memento of Scotland's lovely Queen, each has become a hallowed spot in the mind of poet and historian, whether he be for Stuart or for Tudor, or on whichever side of the Border he may dwell.

ADDENDUM.

The following is a brief notice of a few relics of Mary Stuart which cannot be associated with any very special events in her life of forty-four years and two months.

A small crowned and jewelled heart of blue enamel, part

of an ornament said to have been worn by Queen Mary, is described in our *Journal*, xxiv, 38. It was once in the possession of the Duke of Sussex, and subsequently in that of Mr. Farrer.

To the watches already enumerated as Mary's property may be added the subjoined :—

In the *Catalogue* (ed. 14, p. 8) of the *Rarities to be seen at Don Saltero's Coffee House at Chelsea*, we find—
“ Mary Queen of Scots Watch.”

Among the objects at the Great Industrial Exhibition held in Dublin in 1853, No. 1905, was a gold watch which had belonged to Queen Mary, and was then the property of John Grace, Esq., of Mantua.

At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, held in Edinburgh on June 1st, 1848, the Rev. Alexander Torrance, of Glencorse, exhibited Queen Mary's watch, the one described in McCrie's *Life of Knox* as having been presented to the Reformer by the Queen. At the same meeting, R. Bryson, Esq., exhibited Queen Mary's clock, formerly in Linlithgow Palace.

A *montre d'abbesse* in form of a cross, the face and case of silver, with front of crystal, once belonging to Mary Stuart, was exhibited among her relics at the rooms of the Archæological Institute, Suffolk Street, in 1857. This watch came from Lady Harrington to Lady Caroline Sandford.

In the report of the Derby Congress given in this *Journal*, vii, 317, mention is made of a watch exhibited by Mrs. Hamilton Gray, which had belonged to the Queen of Scots, and presented by her to Margaret Marchioness of Hamilton. It is a small round watch, made by Etienne Hubert of Rouen, with catgut instead of chain, the dial-plate being enamelled with flowers. It is held in a gold case of beautiful filigree-work.

In C. J. Smith's *Historical and Literary Curiosities*, London, 1840, is an engraving of a silver-gilt Death's-head, or *memento mori*, watch, made by Moyse, Blois, which Queen Mary gave to her maid-of-honour, Mary Setoun. It is richly graven with various scenes and devices, and inscriptions taken from Horace, etc.

In the garden of Holyrood Palace is a beautiful sundial, called “ Queen Mary's Dial”, a woodcut of which is

given in the *Mirror*, xx, p. 152, and a brief notice of it in this *Journal*, xxix, 282.

A comb of tortoiseshell, studded with silver hearts and roses, and reputed to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, formed Lot 72, in the seventeenth day's sale of the Strawberry Hill Collection, May 13th, 1842.

In the collection of Marian relics exhibited in Suffolk Street in 1857, Philip H. Howard, Esq., of Corby Castle, Cumberland, contributed a square sachet for perfume, which had been worn by the Queen of Scots. It appears to be of what is denominated rug-work, the devices being acorns, pansies, and other flowers, on a green ground. The cords have an ovate drop at each end, covered with a netting in which pearls are introduced.

What is called the "Pomander of Mary Queen of Scots" is described in the *Gent. Mag.* for May 1844, p. 525. It is there stated to be "a small round box, bearing a tolerable close resemblance, in point of size and general appearance, to the vinegarette presently in use among the ladies." The substance of which it is composed resembles gold, though it is evidently an inferior metal. In the lid is set a very fine specimen of the lapis lazuli, of a beautiful blue colour. This box was presented by the Queen to a favourite gardener, named McCulloch, in the gardens attached to the royal palace at Linlithgow, and had ever since remained in the possession of his descendants until it was presented by one of them to Mr. Murdoch of Airdrie.

"Mary Queen of Scots' Pincushion" was one of the rarities at Don Saltero's Coffee-house at Chelsea, as is noted in the *Catalogue*, ed. 14, p. 6.

The harp of Mary Queen of Scots is figured in this *Journal*, vi, p. 103. According to tradition, this highly decorated instrument was presented to Beatrix Gardyn, daughter of Gardyn of Banchory, when the Queen was on a hunting excursion in Perthshire in 1563.

The silver-gilt hand-bell, which the Queen of Scots bequeathed to her secretary, Claud Nau, was among her relics at Suffolk Street in 1857, being exhibited by Robert Bruce, Esq., of Kennet. This bell (including handle) is about four inches in height, and is engraved with the arms of Scotland ensigned with a low-arched

crown, with other devices and legends, and some numerals which are not of easy explanation.

At Holland House are preserved a pair of candlesticks which belonged to Mary Stuart. They are eleven inches and a half in height, of elegant design, wrought of brass, and enriched with blue, green, and white enamel.

In the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum is a portion of the original draft of the will of Mary Stuart, written in French by her own hand, whilst at Sheffield, in 1577; also an affectionate letter, in French, addressed to Bess Pierpont, dated September 13th, 1583.

In the *Gent. Mag.*, June 1844, p. 634, is a mention of a gold ring with what is supposed to be a contemporary miniature of Mary Queen of Scots, which was then the property of R. B. Aldersey, Esq., of Chigwell Row, Essex. For some curious portraits of this Queen, see this *Journal*, ix, 76; xviii, 263; xxix, 71.

THE CALDERSTONES, NEAR LIVERPOOL.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A.SCOT.

(*Read at the Liverpool Congress, 1887.*)

THAT most interesting prehistoric monument known as the Calderstones is situated four miles south-east of the town, between Wavertree and Much Woolton. The monument in question consists of a group of six stones, arranged in a rough circle, averaging twenty-three feet in external diameter. The stones vary in height from two feet six inches to six feet, and are composed of the sandstone of the district. Rude stone monuments of this description were called Druids' circles by the antiquaries of the last century, from their supposed connection with the mysterious rites performed by the priests who ministered to the religious wants of our early British ancestors. The little that we know about the Druids is derived from Cæsar, and other classical authorities; but the whole amount of the information obtained from these sources is so small that it might be written on an ordinary-sized sheet of note-paper. I believe the author of the work on *Stonchenge* (Stukeley) was the first who suggested that the rude stone monuments in this country were erected as temples by the Druids, although there is nothing in any of the classical books to warrant the assumption that this is the case. Modern archæological research, conducted on more scientific principles, has proved beyond doubt that the primary use of stone circles was sepulchral, as, in the majority of instances, where the ground in the centre has been excavated, a stone cist, enclosing an urn containing burnt bones, has been found. There is, however, no reason why burial-places should not have served a secondary purpose of places of worship; and in the case of the more important examples, such as those at Stonehenge and Avebury, it seems probable that religious rites were performed within the circles of stones. The Druids are only supposed to have existed in Gaul and Britain; but

rude stone monuments are distributed over a far larger area, including countries so remote from each other as India, Palestine, Scandinavia, and Peru. The Calderstones, then, belong to a class of remains which are, in the majority of instances, erected for sepulchral purposes; although I am not aware that an interment has been discovered in this particular case. Perhaps some one acquainted with the neighbourhood will be able to enlighten the Association on this point, and also to say whether any of the stones were moved from their original position when the circle was railed round by Mr. Walker, about twenty years ago. The result of the excavations made within stone circles in Scandinavia, Scotland, and other parts of Europe tends to show that they were erected either in the late stone age or the bronze age. The sepulchral urns in which the burnt bones are contained are generally of a rudely baked clay, moulded by hand, and not turned in a lathe. The ornament consists of chevrons and lines, made with a pointed stick. Several urns of this type have been found in the neighbourhood of the Calderstones, at Wavertree, and are now safely deposited in the Liverpool Museum. The chief point of interest in connection with the Calderstones is the rude sculpturing which occurs on five out of six of the stones composing the circle. The sculptures are of three ages—prehistoric, mediæval, and modern. The first of these belong to an archaic form of decoration, known amongst archaeologists as “cup and ring markings”, consisting of shallow, cup-like depressions, varying from an inch and a half to three inches in diameter, and in many cases surrounded by a series of concentric circular grooves or rings, from six inches to two feet in diameter. The cups and rings are scattered over the surface of the stone, without any apparent regularity, and are often connected together by long grooves going in different directions. Five of the Calderstones show traces, more or less distinct, of this kind of carving, the outer surface of the largest stone having about thirty-six cups upon it, and a set of four concentric rings near the bottom at one corner. One of the stones has several cups and grooves on its upper surface. The whole of the carvings have been illustrated and described by me in the thirty-

ninth volume of the *Journal* of the Association; and a paper on the subject, by Sir James Simpson, is also to be found in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* for 1865. Cup-markings were first observed early in the present century; but it was not until 1849, when Canon Greenwell, of Durham, read a paper, at Newcastle, on the Rock-Sculptures near Wooler, in Northumberland, that the attention of the archæologist was seriously called to the matter. The chief discoveries since that time have been made in 1864, by Sir James Simpson, in Scotland; by Mr. George Tate, in Northumberland; by the Rev. James Graves, in Ireland; and, quite recently, Dr. Call has found many examples near Ilkley, in Yorkshire, and Mr. Jolley has noticed others near Inverness, in Scotland. Cup-markings exist also in France, Switzerland, and Scandinavia.

From the geographical distribution of this class of rock-sculpture, it appears that the race who executed them must have been spread over a large area, including the greater part of central and northern Europe. The objects found associated with cup-marked stones show that they belong to the late polished stone age or the bronze age. With regard to the meaning and use of cup-markings, a variety of suggestions have been put forward, some plausible, some ingenious, but the majority unsatisfactory. Learned professors of geology have endeavoured to show that they are the result of the weathering of the stone; but this theory is untenable, for many buried examples have been found with the tool-marks still visible. Other theories are that cup-markings were carved by shepherds, to while away the time, and with no definite object; that they are maps of the stars, or maps of ancient British towns; that they were used in playing some kind of game; that they are letters, and so forth. The most important point, however, bearing on the origin of cup-markings, is, that in a very large number of instances they are found associated with sepulchral monuments, being carved on the stones composing sepulchral circles, as in the present case; on the capstones of cromlechs, as at Clynnog Vawr, in Carnarvonshire; on cist-covers, as at Craigie Wood, in Lin-

lithgowshire : on urn-covers, as at Black Hedon, in Northumberland ; and inside chambered cairns, as at Clava, in Nairnshire. It appears to me, therefore, that the cup-markings must either be religious symbols, having reference to a future life, or that the cups were adapted by their shape for use in burial-rites, for holding offerings or oil to burn, or some fluid poured over as a libation. During the time of the great plague pins were deposited as offerings in rock-basins on Eyam Moor, in Derbyshire ; and the same custom still survives in remote parts of Ireland, where the pins are placed in shallow stone basins called "bullauns", found in many of the oldest Christian burial-grounds. Near the oratory on St. Ronan's Isle, off the west coast of Scotland, and also in Ireland, large blocks of stone are to be seen in the churchyards with several cup-shaped hollows, each containing a round pebble. The inhabitants of the district turn these pebbles round in their holes as a superstitious observance. In Sweden cup-marked stones are anointed with grease. The names of cup-marked boulders in many cases show that they are still looked upon with superstitious awe. Thus, at Ratho, near Edinburgh, we have the witch's stone, and the cups are called fairies' footsteps, or sometimes devil's "tackets" (*i.e.*, foot-marks) ; in Switzerland the boulders are known as heathen's stones, and in Sweden as Balder's stones. Cup-markings are not only found on isolated boulders and rude stone monuments, but also on natural rock-surfaces, the most remarkable instances being near Wooler, in Northumberland ; near Lochgilphead, in Argyleshire ; and on the south-west coast of Sweden. The rock-sculptures near Wooler are associated in most cases with ancient British camps, as at Chatton Law and Old Berwick. Those near Lochgilphead are on rock-surfaces polished by glacial action ; and the ones in Sweden consist not only of cup and ring markings, but of carvings of ships, men, and animals.

We will next examine the mediæval sculptures on the Calderstones. These consist of a small incised cross on one of the stones at the north side of the circle, and two prints of naked feet, together with a Maltese cross, cut on the adjoining stone. The modern sculptures on one of the

other stones consist also of footprints, but showing the sole of the boot instead of the naked foot. I should have passed over the modern sculptures without comment, except that I believe that the practice of cutting footprints, as at the present day on the leaden roofs of church towers, is a survival of a custom which may be traced back to remote prehistoric times. Amongst the cup and ring sculptures on the south-west coast of Sweden, already referred to, several footprints appear carved on the rock, and the same thing occurs on the slabs forming sides of the sepulchral chamber within the tumulus called the Petit Mont, near Auray, in Brittany. There is also in the British Museum a stone with the outline of a single footprint carved upon it, which formed the side of a cist containing an unburnt skeleton, found at Harbottle Peels, in Northumberland. The stones of inauguration on which the Irish chieftains were crowned, of which the most celebrated example is the coronation-stone in Westminster Abbey, were in many instances marked with a foot for the chieftain elect to stand upon during the ceremony. There are several such stones marked with footprints still in existence, both in Ireland and Scotland. The worship of sacred footprints is common both to the Buddhist and the Christian religion. The Buddhists venerate the footprints of the founder of their religion, which are to be seen carved on their temples, associated with the *swastica*, the *trisol*, and the *chakra*, or wheel of the law. The footprint which receives most veneration in the East is probably that on the top of Adam's Peak, in Ceylon. Traces of similar worship amongst mediæval Christians are to be found in the illustrations of the Ascension of Christ from the Mount of Olives, in the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*. Stones bearing footprints, piously believed to be those of our blessed Lord, exist in the Church of St. Sebastian, without the walls of Rome, and in the Church of St. Radegund, at Poitiers. In the Christian period, pilgrims in Upper Egypt used to cut representations of their feet on stones of the old temples which had been converted into Christian shrines. Other examples of the use of footprints as Christian symbols are to be found on the tombstones, and bronze seals in the shape of a

human foot found in the Catacombs at Rome. The symbol of St. Crispin on the Staffordshire Clog Almanacs is a pair of shoes, the soles only being shown. Dean Stanley tells us, in his *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral*, that the rock in the Isle of Thanet, upon which St. Augustine first set foot when landing in England, was supposed to have received the impression of the saint's foot, and was throughout the middle ages an object of pilgrimage. It would be tedious to pursue this subject further; but enough has, I hope, been said to show how many points for reflection are suggested by the study of the most interesting monument we have now described.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES IN HAVRE AND NORMANDY.

BY M. CHARLES RESSLER.

(*Read 16 Feb. 1887.*)

THE *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* of 1870¹ contains two letters on the Roman Pavement at Lillebonne. This fine specimen of Græco-Roman art has lately been purchased for the Rouen Museum, for an amount far below the value (£320 sterling). Since the discovery of that mosaic pavement, and the excavations of Ingouville,² where a beautiful Samian vase, of the Greek style, now to be seen in the Rouen Museum, exhibits, in four groups, the allegorical scenes of Mars, Venus, Anchises, and Eros, I can only refer to Fécamp for interesting discoveries, excepting a Saxon tomb discovered at Gonfreville l'Orcher, and carefully preserved there by the able M. Toutain-Mazeville, member of the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.

In the Rue Charles Leborgne, the tomb of a young woman of *circa* A.D. 400, displayed vases, and ornaments of the transitory period of art we should term semi-Burgundian, widely differing from the Roman style, and not yet assuming the Frankish or Saxon forms of later periods. Not having succeeded in securing these antiquities for any of the museums—the sad loss of l'Abbé Cochet being now felt each time the trustees ought to interfere—I was compelled to be satisfied with taking two photographic views of the various cups and jewels found in this tomb, and the Association will very soon receive the photographs. A silver coin of Eugenius, in the best state of preservation, seemed placed with the skeleton to specify more correctly the date revealed to us by the style of jewellery and ornaments.

In the old abbey of the Holy Trinity, which is so very interesting to study, as one of the earliest specimens of a large building in the Pointed style, curious remains

¹ Two letters of M. A. de Longpérier and M. Ch. Rœssler.

² See *Le Havre d'Autrefois*.

of the former church, built in the eleventh century, still can be recognised. But a more interesting illustration of that period has been discovered : I allude to the sarcophagus of Abbot William, who died A.D. 1107. The tomb had already been violated during the restorations of the Lady's Chapel in the fifteenth century. But the skull and part of the skeleton still remained, with fragments of an ornamented dress and of the abbot's crozier, and a large inscription carved in lead. This inscription deserves some attention from palæographers :—

“ Hic iacet Abbas Willelmvs : primvm Ecclesie
Baïocensis Cantor et Archidiaconvs : deinde Cadomi monachvs
Ad extremvm Fiscannensis Cenobii Abbas tercius : qvod per xxvii Annos
Et dimidiũ optime rexit : et Ecclesiam : atqve Officinas
Intvs et Foris renovavit : Vir in Omnibvs Boni
Testimonii : Hic obiit vii Kal. Aprilis Mº Cº et viiº Anno ab
Incarnatione Domini : Salvatoris.”

Abbot William is well known to the readers of Anglo-Norman history. Ordericus Vitalis, very nearly his contemporary, gives us the best account of his virtues, and leads us to understand that he took an important part in public affairs during the troubled times of Robert Courthouse and William Rufus. The upper part of the crozier exists no more ; but inscriptions engraved on two rings allude to the double power belonging to the Abbot—to chastise or to console—symbolised by his pastoral crozier. On one of the rings is engraved VIRGA CORRECTIONIS ; on the other, BACULUS CONSOLATIONIS.

If we leave Fécamp for Harfleur, there we find no more remains of the monuments contemporary of the siege under Henry V, except large stone bullets, used now as posts, and perhaps the immense excavation cut between the town and the Mont Cabert. The old tradition, that the church of Harfleur was built during the English occupation, is no more in favour among Norman antiquaries. We must search after MSS. of that period, where we find (*Collection Clairembault*) the accounts of money paid, between the years 1422 and 1429, for the garrison. This is not without interest, Harfleur having been retaken by the French, and besieged once more by the English. These MSS. also mention expeditions from Harfleur to Louviers and Pontorson.

The numbers of men counting as garrison in Harfleur were—in 1423, 14 horsemen, 6 footmen, 60 archers; 1425, 6 horsemen, 9 footmen, 45 archers; 1426, 7 horsemen, 9 footmen, 45 archers; 1427, 6 horsemen, 9 footmen, 45 archers; 1430, 10 horsemen, 20 footmen, 82 archers; 1431, 6 horsemen, 28 footmen, 89 archers; 1432, 2 horse-lancers, 28 footmen, 90 archers; 1435, 2 horse-lancers, 6 *archers à cheval*, 28 lancers, 84 archers; 1438, 19 horse-lancers, 74 archers. In 1439, 4 horse-lancers, 26 lancers, and 66 archers, commanded by Myneurs, left Harfleur for Tancarville, and in October of the same year Tancarville was put under the command of Henry Gray, Knight, with a garrison of 5 foot-lancers and 33 archers.

One of the documents, dated 1423, alludes to a change in the value of the money :—

“Sachent tous que Je Guillaume Myneurs confesse auoir eu et Recen de Pierre Surreau Receueur gñl des finances de Normandie la somme de quinze cens cinquante sept liures sept souz 2 d t—le double compte pour 2 d t qui ne valent à la monnaie de pñtman cours 6 doublez pour ii d t que 1297 liures 16f. tournois. Cest assauoir xi^{ij}ij^{xx} 6 £ vi f d f t en prest & paiement des gaiges & Regard de xiiij hoñes darmes a cheual 61 hoñes darmes a pie L lx archers de ma compaignie dessinez à la garde seurete & deffense dudit lieu de harefleu, par lxxv jours dun quartier dan commençant le ix^e jour de Juillet mil iiij xxij & finissant le xi^e jour de Septembre enſ tous Incluz, auquel jour la monnoie fut cotee le double de ii d t estre pñs les 6 doublez pour x d t et iij^exlvi d t monnoie courant a pñt 6 | doublez pour x d t qui valent a la monnoie de ii d t pour double iii^elxxii £ iij d ob t pour les gaiges desd. hoñes darmes & archers dessinez pour xvii Jours de Reste dudit quartier dan coñmençant le xij^e Jour dudit mois de Septembre & finissant le xxvij^e Jour de celui mois de Septembre enſ tous Incluz lequel prest & paiement ma este fait par vertu des letres de garend de Mons. le Regent le Royaume de france duc de Bedford donnees le derrain jour de feurier lan mil iiij xxij expediez par le tresorier et gouuerneur general des dits finances de laquelle soñe de xv^e lvij lt vij f ii d t et a le double compte pour ii d | t qui ne valent a la moñ de pñtman cours 6 | doubles pour x d | t que xij^e iiij xx et vij £ xvi ft. je me tiens pour content & bien paie et en quitte le Roy ñre sñr mon dit sñ le Receueur general & tous aultres En tesmoing de ce Jay scelle cette pñte quittance de mon Seel le xxi Jour doctobre lan mil cccc vint & trois.”

Some of the MSS. relating to William Myneurs and to Harfleur, and missing in the French collections, are

to be found in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, where the Honorary Secretary of the Association has been kind enough to point them out to me. In 1423 there are letters of the Duke of Bedford to Myneurs, to join Hugh Spenser, Captain of Lillebonne, and Clement Overton, for a muster of arms at Montivilliers. In 1431 I find a warrant to join, under Sir Thomas Kyngheston, part of the 300 armed men and 900 archers meeting against the enemy in Lower Normandy. In 1440 a document tells us of the defeat and capture of Gaucourt, the valiant soldier who had been fighting for twenty-five years against the English army:—

"L'an mil cccc et quarante, le douziesme Jour doctobre deuant moy eustace lomkart notaire & secretaire du Roy nre sr fu pnt en personne Jehan apowell poursuivant d'armes de Jehan Stadmore, escuyer. Lequel confessoit & confesse auoir eu & Receu de pierre bailli Receveur gnl de normandie la somme de dix salus dor laquelle lui fu bailliee en ma pise par l'ordonnance de C. reuerend pere en Dieu monseigneur l'archevesque de Rouen, chancelier de France. Cest assavoir vij salus dor pour auoir apporte dens mon l. Sr le chancelier nouvelles de par le capitaine de neufchastel delincourt. Etant que le sire de gaucourt aduersaire du Roy nre sr estoit lors nouvellement prisnier es mains dudit capitaine aultit Neufchastel & qu'il auoit este prins par aucuns de la garnison dud. lieu de neufchastel ainsi qu'il aloit avec grant armee vers hareden en intencion de prevenir le sire que illec est de par le Roy nre dit sr. Et pour auoir apporte d'aines autres nouvelles ptes. Et quatre salus d'r pour passer par batelaye le Rouen aud. sire auquel il est orlonne aller par mon l. Sr le chancelier porter lesd. nouvelles, le laquelle somme de x salus dor ledit poursuivant se tient pour content & bien paie. Et en quite le Roy nre d. sr ledit Receveur General & tous autres. En testmoing le ce Jay signe ces ptes de mon seing manuel l'an & Jour dessus liz.

"E. Lomkart."

At the time of the Roman discoveries at Lillebonne (1867) I sent to the Association photographs of the urns and cups discovered. Since then similar discoveries have been made at Lillebonne, Sanvic, etc. Great interest is now taken in France in the pre-Roman period, and our able friend, M. Alexandre Bertrand, gives winter lectures on this special subject at the Louvre. In that part of Normandy more especially

April 12, a few weeks before the execution of the heroic Joan of Arc.

studied by myself, very few remains of the Celtic period were found, except near Caudebec, where Dr. Guérout and M. Bischet have collected various relics worth attention.

But it is a difficult question to determine a correct date for everything that is termed Celtic, if we wish to count by centuries or half-centuries, as we can do if we begin to study our national antiquities from the time of the Roman conquest. For instance, the encampments of Fécamp and Sandouville continue to be a great puzzle for antiquaries. As we have established the fact, in 1866, at the Congress held in Havre by M. de Caumont, there is, however, little doubt that they all seem to belong to the same period. A sketch of the encampment of Sandouville, near Harfleur, will give a good idea of these primitive fortifications, always placed on the top of a high cliff, either on the sea-side or on the banks of the river Seine. The camps of Sandouville and Fécamp are very large, and still in good condition. They deserve to be better known, and I hope they will be yet once more studied, as well as the other encampments, going so far up as Rouen on the river-side.

An interesting testimonial of ancient civilisation has been more than once found in the valleys around Harfleur, *i.e.*, the large gold coin discovered at Oudalles, near the camp of Sandouville and at Gonfreville l'Orcher. At first, I concluded that this coin belonged to the country; but I have been informed that in England the same type has been discovered very often on the south-east coast, with its divisions and subdivisions. It shows a rude imitation of a Greek medal. Some of a later period show more resemblance to the Roman consular coins; and the horse, supposed to illustrate the course of the sun across the heavens, is more distinct. It is a point worthy of attention that a great many of our ancient coins seem to show allusions to mythology, and to the groups of stellar constellations. A member of the French Société d'Astronomie, M. Paul Rössler, has recognised on many of them a whole series of zodiacal signs. No inscriptions are ever seen on these; and, later on, we come to a closer resemblance to the Roman coins. Then a few bare names inscribed. No doubt, these belong to the country; the names RATUMACOS and

CALEDU prove it, and show that the divisions of the land since the time of the Roman conquest have, in fact, experienced very few alterations.

ADDENDUM.

Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, has kindly furnished the following additional notes on the coins referred to by M. Rössler :—

“No. 1.—This coin is generally classed amongst the early British on account of its being frequently found in the south-eastern district, all the way from Cornwall to Suffolk. The type is remarkable from the bust on the obverse being so wide-spread. The reverse shows a more barbarous style than is usual with such obverses.

“No. 2.—The type and style of this coin is Gaulish. On the obverse are the remains of a well-formed head, the features being clearly distinguishable; but on the reverse, the type of Victory, in a *biga*, has undergone a considerable change, and has taken the form of a horse galloping to right, and conducted by a hippocamp (?). Below is also a similar animal. Pieces of this type are generally attributed to the north-west of Gaul, and specimens have previously been found at Fécamp.

“No. 3.—This is a curiously barbarous type. The head on the obverse has been changed into a kind of rude bird with small ornaments above, which are the remnants, so to say, of the hair on the head of the original prototype. The reverse is not uncommon.

“Nos. 4-6.—We have here three coins showing various stages of degradation of the original type. On the silver coin, the head on the obverse, and the *biga* on the reverse, are traceable. On the gold coin, the curious knob in the centre of the obverse is all that remains of the head. This is probably the ears. The copper coin shows another degradation, and the obverse has taken the form of a human being carrying a disk-like object in his hand. The dots before him mark the hair of the original type. The reverses of these last two pieces are very rude. I have not been able to ascertain the general locality of these pieces, but they seem to belong to the north-west division of Gaul.”

British Archaeological Association.

FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS,

LIVERPOOL, 1887,

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, 15TH AUGUST 1887.

At first sight the city of Liverpool did not appear to be a particularly likely place in which to obtain much archaeological information, hence the Congress was looked forward to by some of the members of the Association with misgiving, and with apprehensions of a meagre list of objects of antiquity; but the result has shown that the city and the vicinity have yielded an abundant return.

The Congress commenced at the Town Hall, in the afternoon, with a *conversazione*, to which His Worship the Mayor (Sir James Poole) invited the members of the Association and many of the leading and influential ladies and gentlemen in Liverpool. In the unavoidable absence of the Mayor, the guests were received and cordially welcomed by Alderman Hughes, Deputy Mayor. During the reception many of the guests inspected the corporate regalia and plate, and the old charters of Liverpool, which were exhibited in an adjoining room. These interesting curiosities were described to the visitors by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Mr. Philip H. Rathbone, and other gentlemen. At the conclusion of the reception the company adjourned to the Council Chamber to hear the presidential address.

The Deputy Mayor occupied the chair, and expressed regret at the absence of the Mayor, and on his behalf extended to the Association a cordial welcome to Liverpool. Speaking of the work of the Association, he asserted that it was by means of such Societies, in which all individual theories and investigations were subjected to friendly criticisms, and received the benefits and correctness of mutual interchange of thought, that real, substantial progress was achieved and accuracy assured. The city of Liverpool was not, he believed, rich in archaeological associations and remains; but there were many objects and places in the immediate vicinity, both in Lancashire and Cheshire, which he understood were of great archaeological interest. He congratulated the Association upon having as their President a gentleman

like Sir James Picton, than whom he believed no one was more capable of explaining the antiquities of the district.

The Address was then delivered by the President. It sketched out very comprehensively the general features of the local inquiries and investigations to which the Congress members were about to apply themselves.

The regalia consist of a number of maces, bowls, and tankards. The oldest is a large mace of silver-gilt, 3 ft. 2 in. long. On the bowl is represented the "Liver" or cormorant with webbed feet and large flat beak (the principal charge in the arms of the Corporation), with royal badges and initials C. R. This was presented to the Corporation by Charles, eighth Earl of Derby, Mayor in 1666-7. In 1784 it was stolen, but afterwards recovered. The same noble donor gave, in 1667, a small mace in copper, 17 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long, with the royal arms engraved on the top. There is also a silver flagon of 1682. The other pieces are of the eighteenth century, and have no unusual features about them.

The charters are numerous and fairly well preserved. Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, during his remarks on these valuable MSS., said that too much handling has not improved the condition of the two earliest deeds, which require the intervention of a glass for the frequent handling to which they have been and may be exposed. The first is a royal grant by King John, giving to the burgesses who have taken up their burgages in "Linerpul" "all liberties and free customs in the town of Linerpul which any free Borough upon the sea has in our realm." The burgages herein referred to were one hundred and sixty-eight in number, and paid an annual ground-rent to the King of one shilling each. In the charter of Henry III, the second in the series, the liberties of a borough on the sea ("liber burgus super mare") appear to consist, in the main, of free intercourse with any other port, and dispensing with the taxes of lastage, pontage, and other incidental burdens. Whether these advantages are still enjoyed by coasting vessels hailing from the port of Liverpool cannot be now told.

The Rev. H. H. Higgins moved a vote of thanks to Sir James Picton for his address. Sir James Picton, he said, worthily represented the cause of archæology in the Congress, and possessed great knowledge of the principal antiquities in the neighbourhood of Liverpool. It was a melancholy fact that objects of archæological interest in the kingdom required protection even to secure their preservation. Sir John Lubbock had provided some security for objects of importance wherever they might be in this island; and to a certain extent he had succeeded. It was to be regretted that such regulations should have been needed; but he was glad to think that these had in the majority of instances been successfully carried out.

Mr. C. G. Donaldson seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Subsequently the members of the Association paid a visit to St. George's Hall, and in the evening dined at the Adelphi Hotel.

TUESDAY, 16TH AUGUST.

The members had a pleasant excursion to places of interest in the Hundred of Wirral. The weather was delightful, but owing to the long drought the roads were very dusty. The company, which numbered nearly a hundred ladies and gentlemen, including Sir James Picton, F.S.A., President, travelled through the Mersey Tunnel to the Central Station, Borough Road, Birkenhead.

The ruins of Birkenhead Priory were first visited, the party assembling in the ancient Chapter House, now known by the name of St. Mary's Chapel, where Mr. Charles Aldridge, F.R.I.B.A., read a paper which has been printed above, at pp. 21-28.

The party then proceeded to Bidston Hall, a fine example of domestic architecture of the Elizabethan period. It is now occupied by Mr. Taylor, who farms the adjoining land. It stands opposite the church, and is almost hidden by trees. Sir J. Picton explained to the visitors that the manor of Bidston belonged, in the middle ages, to the Stanleys of Lathom and Knowsley; and after the siege of Lathom House, and the execution of the Earl in 1649, the heroic Countess retired to Bidston Hall for refuge and shelter. The Hall is a small but interesting building, erected of yellow sandstone, within a square court, entered by a plain gateway and circular arch. In the building it is said that the conspirators in the Rye House Plot of 1683 assembled to arrange their plans. Bidston Hall and neighbourhood, under an assumed name, were the scene of a novel by Mrs. Oliphant. The Hall was built by the fifth Earl of Derby.

The church was rebuilt in 1856, the old tower being retained. It is dedicated to the Saxon Saint, Oswald; hence it is probable that a church existed in the neighbourhood in Saxon times. The tower, in age and style, is the same as that of Wallasey old church. Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, thinks there may have been a timber church at first on the spot. Some partly defaced shields of arms of Stanley, Man, Hastings, and other families, remain in stone paneling over the western door of the tower, and a stone bearing the date 1593, rebuilt into the porch when the church was re-erected in 1856, shows that some alteration or renovation of the edifice took place at that time.

A number of curious epitaphs were inspected in the churchyard ; one of these, after the name of the deceased, having the words,—

“ Nineteen years a maid,
Two years a wife,
Nine days a mother,
And then departed life.”

The projected inspection of the submerged forest on the Meols shore had to be abandoned for want of time and the difficulty of reaching the place.

The visitors were met at West Kirby Church by the Rev. Canon Eaton, Rector, who gave a short sketch of the building. The church, dedicated to St. Bridget, was restored in 1869. Here again are few features of interest to the archaeologist, beyond the tower, which has two buttresses on the inside wall. The tower-arch is enriched with small niches having trefoiled heads. There is a small original window near the main doorway. Among the relics in the church are the sedilia, which belong to the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. For lovers of seventeenth century tablets there is a quaint slab erected to the memory of Johannes van Zoellen, gentleman, of Bristol, 1689, one of the generals of the Duke of Schomberg, who died at the King's Gap, Hoylake, when embarking with King William's troops for Londonderry.

Outside the church, to make amends for the poverty of the interior, were arranged a collection of ancient sculptured fragments, including two pieces of Roman inscriptions, two pieces of a Saxon cross with interlaced work, a stone with an ornamental border, and a long, whitish, flinty-looking foreign stone sculptured with a kind of flat pattern as well as with the more usual interlaced knotwork. It was conjectured by some who examined this relic that it had been imported in a finished state from Ireland, Iona, or another likely spot of Christian *cultus*. But, whether native or imported, this curious stone, so unconventional, and yet so characteristic of the earliest phases of Christianity as developed in Britain, certainly deserves a high place in the annals of the Association. Its unnecessary exposure to weather is to be regretted.

The drive was continued along the picturesque road overlooking the Dee, through the township of Caldy, to Thurstaston Hall, the residence of Sir David Radcliffe, ex-Mayor of Liverpool, who had kindly invited the company to luncheon. The oldest portion of Thurstaston Hall is much anterior to 1680, and it was enlarged in 1836. It contains a wood-engraving believed to be a reproduction of a portrait of Hugh Lupus, first Norman Earl of Chester.

At Thurstaston Church, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, a modern structure (erected in 1885 by the Misses Hegan in memory of their

father), reared up in the churchyard, not far from the old tower of the mediæval church, scarcely any vestiges of antiquity were placed before the archæologists. The tower itself, partly enveloped in ivy-mantling, has been defaced by the recent insertion of a sham inscription cut on a long slab of stone, blunderingly copied from a fragmentary line on a brass, a tomb, or some other inscribed relic. The bastard form of the letters, the meaningless words, and the pseudo-mediæval appearance of the whole, are sufficiently betrayed at a glance to a practised eye; but, for want of something more genuine, it is highly treasured in its own parish. The tower is not very old.

An elegant luncheon was served in a marquee erected on the lawn. Sir David Radcliffe presided, and proposed the loyal toasts, afterwards giving the toast of "The Bishop of the Diocese and other Ministers of Religion", which was acknowledged by the Rev. F. E. Thurland, Rector of Thurstaston, and the Rev. Father Murphy of Liverpool. Other toasts followed, and the company then drove to Thurstaston Common to view the Thor Stone. The kindness and courtesy of Sir David and Lady Radcliffe were highly appreciated by the visitors.

The party having taken up a position on the great Stone, Sir James Picton, standing in the centre, gave a brief sketch of its history. He said it was not a boulder, but a portion, *in situ*, of the new red sandstone which abounded in the whole neighbourhood. It was 50 ft. long, 30 ft. wide, and 25 ft. high. How far its original shape had been modified, it was impossible to say; but human labour had been largely expended upon it, as they might see by the large number of initials and other marks which had been made by many generations of visitors. There was no specific history or legend connected with the Stone, its secluded position seeming to have caused it to escape notice to a great extent. Combining its historical association with the name of the place, and the phenomenon presented by its locality, the inference seemed to be fully borne out that they had there a monument of their Saxon or Danish ancestors in their heathenish existence. A few years ago, through having seen an article of his respecting the Stone, the Birkenhead Corporation had taken steps to secure Thurstaston Common, under the statute, as a public park; and they succeeded in having it set apart, including the portion on which the Stone stood, for all time for the use of the public. He thought no reasonable person would hesitate to come to the conclusion that in the Thor Stone they had a monument of antiquity of the highest interest connected with the settlement of their ancestors in the country.

The Rev. A. E. P. Gray, Rector of Wallasey, said that the people round about the country gave the name of "Fair Maidens' Hall" to the place where the Stone stood, and that the children were in the habit of coming once a year to dance round the Stone.

Sir James Picton said that this would seem to prove that the Stone had been held in esteem by the country people as something remarkable. In giving it the name of "Fair Maidens' Hall" they might have unintentionally corrupted the word "Thor". He did not think the fact of maidens being connected with it meant anything, except that he supposed that it had been a trysting place from time immemorial.

Time would not permit of a visit being made to Irby Old Hall as intended.

Woodchurch was the last place inspected in the perambulation of the day. Here the company were hospitably entertained to tea by the Rev. Canon Robin, Rector. Here,¹ too, archæology has but a slender hold where all is restoration or renovation, and that in material which has every appearance of rapidly degenerating before the fierce winds of winter and the fume-laden air which encompasses the neighbourhood for the greater part of the year. Sandstone, it is true, has a rich, deep red, warm colour, and lends itself to picturesque effect; but it has yet to be seen if it has superior claims to the colder greys for durability. It is strange that in a parish such as this, with a large income, so little care is taken of the parochial Registers that they are enwrapped in pieces of brown paper in place of covers, and their torn condition and defective stitching point to a period when they will no longer exist at all. A few pounds laid out in substantial binding of these Registers would be more judiciously spent than hundreds in covering the whole of a church floor with expensive encaustic tiles, and putting up unnecessary iron screen-work, as is so frequently the case. Some day, perhaps, when it is too late, we shall have a general depository of church registers. Meanwhile, let the churchwardens look to it that the records of their churches are kept away from the damp, and that a small share of attention is paid to their well-being.

The church is dedicated to the Holy Cross, and the present fabric was built about the close of the fourteenth century. A portion of an early sepulchral slab is built up in the interior of the north wall of the church.

About half an hour was spent at Woodchurch, and Birkenhead was reached shortly after 7 o'clock, *en route* for Liverpool, from the Central Station of the Mersey Railway.

In the evening a meeting was held in the Walker Art Gallery, at which Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., presided. The first paper was by the Rev. A. E. P. Gray, M.A., F.S.A., on "The Origin of Christianity in Wirral", which has been printed above, at pp. 29-38.

A short discussion then took place, in which Messrs. Brock, Lach-Szyrna, Hance, and Higgins took part, after which the Chairman pro-

¹ See *Athenæum*, August 1887.

posed, and Mr. Brock seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Gray, which was carried with acclamation.

The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Newlyn, Cornwall, then read a paper on the "Relation of Wales and Cornwall in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Centuries", which will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

The connection of Wales and Cornwall in this period, he said, was interesting, but had not been as yet sufficiently treated in ordinary histories of England. After some preliminary remarks on the age treated of, and also on Wales and Cornwall during the Roman occupation of Britain, the speaker proceeded to give various evidences of connection between the two districts. Especially was this remarkable in ecclesiastical matters. Carantoe, one of the chief missionaries of Cornwall, was a Welshman. A great deal of the Christianisation of Cornwall was done by the family of the Welsh King Brechan. St. Nectan, the Cornish martyr, belonged to this race, and also the more famous St. Keyne. Gluvias of Cornwall, whose name was remembered near Penryn, reciprocated the kind offices of the Welsh. Even St. David, according to some accounts, was of a Cornish mother, for St. Nonna is claimed as such. The military events of the period drove the Britons to combine together. This is a matter of historical evidence, and not only of Arthurian legend. The writer then briefly digressed to consider the theory of Arthur being a mere solar myth, applying the *reductio ad absurdum* argument, that some eminent personages of modern times—*e.g.*, Napoleon I, Mr. Gladstone, and even Professor Max Müller—had laid down their history, reduced by witty writers into solar myths. Passing to well authenticated history, there was a Christian kingdom of Damnonium, or West Wales, including the modern English counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, and certainly a large portion of South Wales. The interchange of religious life, in the latter part of this period, between Brittany, Cornwall, and Wales was very striking. The three blessed visitors of Britain, David, Padarn, and Teilo, were given as illustrations, as well as St. Pol de Leon, St. Sampson, and others. Community of languages and common interest and nationality, doubtless, aided this. Even in modern times the Britons and Cornish could converse, and other languages which he quoted could almost be understood by inhabitants of other districts. At the end of the seventh century, "Gerontius, the glorious King of Damnonium", as he was called, ruled from the Chilterns to Land's End, from the Black Mountains of Glamorganshire to the Lizard and Torbay.

The Chairman, in the course of a few remarks upon the paper, suggested that the Irish language belonged to the same family as the Breton and Welsh.

Mr. Lach-Szyrma replied that it certainly belonged to the same family, but to a different branch. The Cornish, Breton, and Welsh were put in the one branch, and the Irish, Manx, and Gaelic in the other. The Manx and Irish differed from the Cornish (which was now a dead language) in that they had a more complete inflection, of which the Cornish had but a faint trace. The system of numerals was also different.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Broek, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, was then called upon to read a short paper on "Considerations relative to the Ground-Plan and Walls of Chester", which has been printed above at pp. 39-44.

At the conclusion of the meeting a vote of thanks to the lecturers was proposed by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, and heartily accorded.

WEDNESDAY, 17TH AUGUST 1887.

The members resumed the series of excursions to the many spots of archaeological interest and importance in the vicinity of Liverpool. The party were conveyed in carriages to the south end of Liverpool, and through Sefton Park, the luxuriant foliage of which was already beginning to assume its autumnal tints. Thence the drive was continued to the celebrated Calderstones, a small circle of standing stones about four miles out of Liverpool.

Sir James Picton read a short paper descriptive of the remains, and summarised the various theories respecting their origin. It appears that the stones mark the meeting-point of the three townships of Wavertree, Allerton, and Wootton. This prehistoric monument consists of a group of six standing stones arranged in an irregular, circular plan, averaging 23 ft. outside diameter. In height they range between 2 ft. 6 in. and 6 ft., and are of the sandstone found in the district. Sir James derives the appellation from an Anglo-Saxon word, *galdor* (sorecery, witchcraft); but it is clear that if so, this cannot be the original name of these stone relics, which are very much older than Anglo-Saxon times, although it may be that the Anglo-Saxons gave this name to the spot.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot., in a paper read on Thursday evening, endeavoured to show that modern archaeological research has proved beyond doubt that the primary use of stone circles such as these was sepulchral, because in the majority of cases where the ground in the centre has been excavated, a stone cist enclosing an urn containing burnt bones has been found. It is not recorded that any indications of an interment have been discovered at the Calderstones, nor is it known if any of the stones were removed from their original

position when a railing was placed round the circle by Mr. Walker about twenty years ago.

The circle of stones was carefully examined by the visitors, and by Sir James Picton's direction particular attention was directed to the cup and ring markings which are distinctly visible on several of the stones. It is worthy of record that the late Professor Sir James Simpson, who devoted considerable time and labour to an inspection of the stones, expressed the following opinion of them: "The Calderstones, near Liverpool, afford a very interesting and remarkable example of these cup and ring markings. Some of the Calderstones afford ample evidence of modern chiseling, as remarked by its sharpness. But in addition to these there are cut upon them, though in some parts faded away, sculpturings of cups and concentric rings exactly similar to those existing in various parts of England and Scotland. Comparing them with specimens from an underground house or 'weem' in Forfarshire, some of the sculptured circles are so precisely similar in appearance to those on the inner surface of the largest Calderstone, that though they are hundreds of miles apart they look as if they had been carved by the same hand. These archaic carvings are remarkable not only from their perfect and entire similarity to the sculptures found elsewhere, but still more so from the fact that we have here presented upon a single circle almost every known and recognised type of these cuttings, thus affording one strong proof among many others that the cup and ring cuttings are all of one class of art and of one origin, though somewhat diverse in form and type."

The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma said some people held the theory that the markings of the stones were used by prehistoric man as a kind of map to guide him about the country; and Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock stated that it was believed by others that these markings were utilised as a sort of record of the position of different people's holdings.

An animated discussion thereupon took place, and Sir James Picton explained that formerly these stones were covered with a mound of sand, beneath which was found a number of sepulchral urns containing burnt bones. This seemed to favour the supposition that these peculiar markings were made in sepulchral places at some remote period.

The drive was afterwards continued by way of Mossley Hill, and a brief halt was made to inspect the Rev. J. Diggle's church, dedicated to St. Matthew and St. James, which is a fine example of English Gothic of the fourteenth century.

The next and most important visit of the day was paid to the celebrated example of half-timbered construction known as Spoke Hall, now the residence of Miss Watt, and to which every antiquary naturally attaches the deepest interest. The party was cordially welcomed by Miss Watt, who readily granted permission for a thorough inspec-

tion of the singular style of the structure and the extraordinary and valuable curiosities which it contains. Fortunately the mansion appears to have entirely escaped all attempts to modernise or alter it, and it is now presented to the eye of the spectator just as it was built three or four centuries ago. Inside the building are to be seen the armour and other relics of its ancient proprietors; and much amusement was occasioned by an inspection of the old fire-irons, which are so massive as to require quite a strong and robust individual to raise even one of them. There are a number of small stained glass windows containing inscriptions which relate to several of the old Saxon kings, and these came in for a share of the visitors' attention.

Soon after the arrival of the party Sir James Picton made the following remarks:—"Speke, in *Domesday Book*, was held by Uctred. It descended, through the families of Garnet and Erneys, to Adam de Molineux of Sefton. In the fourteenth century it was conveyed, by marriage with the heiress, to William Norris of Sutton. In this family it continued for many generations. At the battle of Flodden Field the Lancashire contingent, which contributed mainly to the victory, was commanded by Sir Edward Stanley and Sir William Norris, who brought away considerable spoil, after the invasion of Scotland, from the old Holyrood House at Edinburgh. The royal library was despoiled, and Sir William brought away a number of books and a portion of the oak-wainscoting, which on the rebuilding of the mansion was employed in the lining of the hall. The north wall is so lined, divided into eight compartments, subdivided into five rows of panels, with the following inscription in detached portions:—"Slepe not till thou hathe considerd how thow hast spent y^e day past. If thou have well don, thank God; if other ways, repent ye." Over the dining-room is the following sentence:—

‘The strengtest } God to love and serve
waye to Heaven } ys Above all thyng.’

"In the Athenæum Library, Liverpool, there are fourteen folio volumes brought from Holyrood by Sir William Norris. In one of them, *Bartolus super Prima Digesti Veteris*, printed at Venice in 1499, is the following entry in the handwriting of Sir William Norris:—

"‘That Edyn Borow wasse wone ye viiiith daye of Maye an’o xxxvi. H. viii. et an’o d’ni mccccxlvi. and yt yis boke was gottyn and brought awaye by me Willm. Norres of yt Speike K thys xi. daye of Maye foresaide and now ye boke of me ye foresaide Willm. geven and by me left to remayne att Speike for an aireloume In wittnesse wereof I have wreiten ye p’myss w’th my none hand and subscribed my name
‘P’ me Willm. Norres night’ (*sic*).

"The date of 1543 shows that the plunder was not carried away

immediately after the battle of Flodden, but was due to an irruption consequent on the battle of Solway Moss in 1542. Sir William Norris was killed at the battle of Musselborough, 1547, and was succeeded by his brother Edward.

"The mansion is an interesting specimen of the half-timbered, moated, mediæval hall; and the more so that it remains in its primitive condition, without any modern alterations or additions. It is nearly all of one date. The original building cannot be earlier than the latter part of the fifteenth century, after the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses. Previous to this date it would have assumed a more castellated form. Nor can it be later than the reign of Henry VII, as not long afterwards the moats around manor-houses were no longer considered necessary. There are several dates inscribed on the building; the earliest, over one of the doors, is 1554 A.D. Over the entrance is the inscription,—

‘This work twenty yards long was wholly built
by E. N. [Edward Norris] 1598.’

Over another door we read—

‘E. [Edward] N. 1605—M. [Margaret] N.’

"This Edward Norris was the bearer of the great banner at the grand funeral of Edward, third Earl of Derby, who was buried at Ormskirk in 1574. Another of the family, Sir William Norris, was Ambassador to the Great Mogul in 1702. The sword of state carried before him is deposited amongst the regalia of the Corporation of Liverpool. In 1736 the heiress of the Norrises married Lord Sidney Beauclerk, son of the first Duke of St. Albans; their son, the Hon. Topham Beauclerk, was an intimate friend of Dr. Johnson. By his son the Hall and manor of Speke were conveyed to Mr. Richard Watt, merchant, of Liverpool, in whose family they still remain.

"The plan of the house consists of an open quadrangle surrounded by buildings. The entrance, on the east side, is over a bridge spanning the moat, which has been partially filled up and converted into pleasure ground. The interior presents the usual rambling arrangement of such houses. A mysterious passage is said to exist underground, leading from a private staircase in the hall to the bank of the river Mersey. The two most interesting rooms are the hall, which is lined with the fine old oak wainscoting already described; and the drawing-room, the ceiling of which is richly decorated in plaster of the Elizabethan period in excellent preservation. An old mansion of this kind would not be complete without a haunted chamber, which Speke Hall contains, and in which no domestic can ever be prevailed on to pass the night. The great interest of Speke Hall consists in the fact of its remaining comparatively intact, without any meddling or modernisa-

tion. Its erection dates from the first half of the sixteenth century, from about 1509 to 1550. About the end of the century Edward Norris built the bridge over the moat, and constructed the east and west entrances, commemorated by the inscription alluded to. He also altered the hall, now the dining-room. Originally, like all mediæval halls, it had a minstrel-gallery running across one end, with a passage under it communicating with the kitchen department. The fireplace was in a recess at the north end. A new fireplace and chimney were built at the south end, blocking up the minstrel-gallery, and destroying the proportions of the room. This is evident, for the ceiling of the hall extends behind the chimney, and the remains of the minstrel-gallery still exist. The style of the work also corresponds with the date. The advancing tide of manufacturing industry threatens the manor of Speke on two sides, and it is to be feared that in another generation this fine relic of Old England may have to succumb to modern requirements. But the present owner will do her utmost to prevent such a relic of the past from passing from the family, and no doubt it will be handed down unimpaired to future generations. Special attention was paid to the ceiling of the drawing-room, which has escaped many dangers, and is still in a wonderful state of preservation. At one time the room was used as a cowshed, and afterwards it was converted into a hayloft. It is a beautiful specimen of ornamentation in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and of stucco work, which has not been cast in mould, as is now the case, inasmuch as no two ornaments are alike. It is done by hand, and modelled by workmen on the spot. The ornaments on the beams are, however, probably cast, judging from their similarity in appearance. There is also a quantity of peculiar carving over the mantelpiece."

Refreshments were very kindly provided by Miss Watt, and at the conclusion of the visit Sir James Picton expressed the thanks of the visitors to Miss Watt for her cordial reception.

Subsequently the party proceeded to The Hutte, near Halewood, a relic of an old mansion which was built about the fourteenth century. Nothing but a small portion of the gateway, and a part of one of the walls of the original building, now remain; but, judging from these remnants, it is exceedingly probable that the Hall was a very extensive structure. It was the seat of the ancient family of the Irelands. Sir Gilbert Ireland represented Liverpool in Parliament at the time of the Commonwealth, and the property passed by marriage to the Blackburnes of Hale, who have ever since taken the name of Ireland, and who still number the Hall amongst their possessions. A moat formerly existed round the Hall, and a portion of it still remains. A farmhouse, occupied by Mr. Woodruffe, now stands on the site of the old mansion.

Hence the party drove through a very pleasant country to Childwall Church, where they were received by the churchwardens, Major J. B. Morgan and Mr. C. Sherlock, who had kindly arranged a display of the archives of the parish from the fifteenth century to the present day. These are of interesting character, and delighted the visitors. Attention was also drawn to the existence of a hagioscope. The church is of great antiquity, and is mentioned in *Domesday Book*; but the oldest part of it now remaining belongs to the fourteenth century.

This was the last spot to be visited, and the visitors drove to Sandy Knowe, Wavertree, the residence of the President, where they were hospitably entertained at a very elegant luncheon in a marquee at the back of the house. The loyal toasts were afterwards honoured, and, at the request of Sir James Picton, the party drank to the health of Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, and Mr. J. Reynolds, who had contributed much to the success of the gathering.

Mr. Wright proposed the health of Sir James Picton, who, in responding, remarked that the records of Liverpool history were exceptionally complete, and suggested that the Association would act wisely in getting them published.

The toast of "The Local Committee and Secretaries" was acknowledged by Mr. E. B. M. Hance; and the other toasts were "The Press", replied to by Mr. E. R. Russell; and "The Ladies", acknowledged by Mr. W. H. Picton.

In the evening a number of members and visitors attended at the Walker Art Gallery, where papers were read. Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., presided.

Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., read a paper, "On Old Liverpool China and Earthenware", which has been printed at pp. 45-50.

It was much to be regretted that some of the rare and beautiful type-specimens of Liverpool ceramics which adorn the Meyer Museum were not laid on the table at the meeting, to illustrate the remarks of the author.

The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma then read a paper, "The Manx and Cornish Languages Considered Historically", which will be printed hereafter. He spoke somewhat rapturously on the value of these languages, but failed to show conclusively that they, or rather what we have of them, have any really great philological value. The literature is small, chiefly dramatic and theological, but it is for the most part seriously vitiated by the lateness of the age of the MSS. in which it is contained. Cornish and Manx are dialects rather than languages, and they appear to have passed their meridian long before the records which are now extant were written; hence, with but few exceptions, we can only conjecture the original form of the words. The latter, as a spoken language, is moribund; the former quite extinct, and this

from causes which are inseparable from the progress of civilisation. As some one has rightly observed, the uneducated man cannot afford the luxury of two languages; it is difficult enough for him to express himself in one. Looked at in this light, Welsh and Irish must in time follow where Cornish has gone and Manx is tending, although the larger circle of Welsh and Irish literatures will prolong their use. If Cornish has been the language of the south-western part of Britain for the long period claimed by the author of the paper, it is at least strange that the literature is comparatively so modern, and that no inscriptions have been observed to aid in filling up the want of other evidences. May not the language have been at first purely Celtic, and of normal character, and have afterwards degenerated, in mediæval times, by gradual growth for the worse (which is noticeable even in far more robust languages), of which degeneration we alone possess any appreciable quantity of literary remains?

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 4TH JANUARY 1888.

CECIL BRENT, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

MR. H. SHERATON was elected Local Member of Council for Cheshire.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire," vol. xxi, Part iii.

„ „ for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. vii, 4th Series.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a small jug of so-called "Siegburg" ware, from Germany, of the seventeenth century.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot., read a paper entitled "A Museum of Christian Archæology for Great Britain," and exhibited a very extensive collection of drawings, rubbings, and photographs of British Christian antiquities. The paper will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH JANUARY 1888.

THOS. BLASHILL, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. Carus Vale Collier, B.A., Bridlington Quay, was elected a member.

M. H. Schnuermans, President of the Court of Appeal, Liège, was duly elected an Honorary Corresponding Member.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Part xxxviii, Jan. 1888.

To the Society, for "The Archæological Journal," vol. xlv, No. 176.

„ „ for "Transactions of the St. Alban's Architectural and Antiquarian Society," 1886.

To the Author, for "Pitture Grottesche nell' Oratorio di Mocchirolo, etc., Lombardia." Saggio critico del Dott. Ginlio Carotti.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a Dutch jug of Rhenish ware, about 1580, ornamented with a shield of the royal arms of Spain. Mr. Brock read a letter from M. Schuermans respecting the walls of the city of Chester.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a collection of miscellaneous relics recently found in excavations in Southwark. Among them were various specimens of Delftware-plates; pewter spoons partly gilded, and with initials in sunk panels,—D. L. and a bird, W. H., P. E.; a horn-handled knife with curved blade, having a slot at the end to hook to a staple; a double-bladed clasp-knife; a bone fruit-knife with whistle in the handle.

The following objects were sent for exhibition through J. T. Irvine, Esq. :—

Exhibited by T. J. Walker, Esq., M.D., Westgate, Peterborough :—
A card containing four bronze roundels about 2 in. across, and two bronze masks radiated. These were found, with the figure of a bronze knight on horseback, in the neighbourhood of Peterborough, 1886.

A card containing a fine Saxon brooch ornamented with singularly fine representations of the head of the Scandinavian god Thor. Found in 1878, between Palmerston Road and Fletton Tower, near Woodstone, south side of Ken, Huntingdonshire, near Peterborough.

Sketches exhibited by Mr. Jas. T. Irvine :—

No. 1. Monumental slab of Abbot Godfrey de Croyland, lately discovered below the floor of the choir of Peterborough Cathedral. The inscription round the edge is as follows :—

"De Croyland natus jacet hic Godefridus humatus,
Surget elatus Amen."

No. 2. Low side-window in Ufford Church, Northamptonshire.

No. 3. Ditto (interior view) at Paston Church in the same county.

These are sent to obtain the opinion of the members of the Association whether or not they could have been used for administration of the cup to lepers, seeing that the clear openings of the strong *ironwork* covering these openings are not more than $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Could there be room for the cup to be passed through so small an aperture?

No. 4. Monumental recess of the rebuilder of the tower of Water Newton Church.

No. 5. View of the same recess with inscription.

No. 6. Copy of the same inscription, which has not been published. The reading is—

"Vous ke par issi passez
Pur le alme Thomas Purdeu priez."

The panel containing the inscription is singular as having a recess formed all round the sinking for inscription, that evidently contained some material for the protection of the soft, bluish sandstone in which the inscription is cut. Had this been oak it would have hidden the letters. It appears to suggest the use of thick glass for this purpose at a period when it is not known to have been so used outside in England.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled "Old Roads," by George Payne, Esq., F.S.A., of Sittingbourne. This will be printed, it is hoped, in the *Journal* hereafter.

In the discussion which ensued Mr. S. Kershaw, F.S.A., Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, Mr. C. H. Compton, and the Chairman took part.

Mr. Brock read some notes by the Rev. Canon Collier on discoveries in Winchester Cathedral, which have already been described in the *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 291.

WEDNESDAY, 1ST FEBRUARY 1888.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :

Henry Cockett, Esq., New House, Walsoken

Rev. Herbert Poole King, Stourton Rectory, Bath.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," 23 April 1887, 30 June 1887; Second Series, vol. xi, No. iv.

„ „ for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Fifth Series, No. 16, Oct. 1887.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, on behalf of Mr. W. G. Smith, a photograph of the drawing of a skeleton found in a round tumulus on Dunstable Downs. He also exhibited a drawing of the wayside-cross at Stevington, co. Bedford, kindly communicated by the Rev. J. R. H. Duke, the Vicar.

The Rev. D. Bowen, of Monkton, Pembroke, sent for exhibition a photograph of the ruined east end of his church; and a communication was read from the same inviting subscriptions for its repair.

A letter was read from the Rev. John Armstrong of Braithwell, Rotherham, describing the progress of the work being done in connection with the refixing of the Braithwell Cross (*circa* A.D. 1191) more securely on a base-slab of Roche Abbey stone.

Mr. Brock exhibited a collection of old engravings of archaeological sites and ruins in the city of Rome, and some illustrated works on the subject of Roman antiquities.

Mr. H. D. Cole, of Winchester, sent for exhibition a series of rubbings of sepulchral brasses in Hampshire, executed by him in pursuance of a new method which he has discovered, whereby the original appearance of the brass is preserved, and the design and inscription are reproduced in black upon a brass-coloured background. The following is the list of the copies of monumental brasses :—

John Bedell, Mayor of Winchester A.D. 1496, died 1498, educated at the College. From the brass in the Chapel of Winchester College.

St. Christopher, from the brass of William and Agnes Complyn, A.D. 1498, in Wyke Church.

John Kent, scholar of "the new College of Winchester" (Winchester College), died A.D. 1434. From Headbourne Worthy Church.

Dr. Richard Harwood, Master of St. Cross A.D. 1465, died A.D. 1489. From the brass in St. Cross Church.

Two of John White, Bishop of Winchester A.D. 1556, died A.D. 1559. Was Head Master A.D. 1537, and in 1541 Warden of the College. From the brass in Winchester College.

John Wyllynghale and John Erewaker.

John de Campeden, Warden or Master of the Hospital of St. Cross A.D. 1382, and who died A.D. 1410.

"The brass was formerly in the centre of the church, but was removed to its present site, within the altar-rails, to preserve its still excellent state of preservation, and a small tablet records the spot where it was originally. The memorial consists of a large flat stone inlaid with brass. The figure is upwards of 6 ft. in length, habited in a cope with embroidered orfrey-work, consisting of lions' heads alternately with roses. Beneath this is a surplice with sleeves; the sleeves of cassock also appear. Over the surplice he wears the almuce or tip-pet, made usually of white fur; the hood is part of this. The head has the tonsure, and the hands are clasped in supplication, with two scrolls proceeding on each side of the head. The prayers are in Latin, contracted, as all the inscriptions engraved are. That on the right side is 'Jesu, when Thou comest in judgment, condemn me not'; that on the left side, 'Thou who fashionest me have mercy on me.' On the fillet surrounding the figure is, also in Latin, 'For I believe that my Redcemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise again from the earth, and that I shall be clothed in my skin again, and in my flesh shall see God my Saviour, Whom I shall see myself; and my eyes shall see Him, and no other; and this hope is in my heart.' At each corner of this inscription are the emblems of the Evangelists, viz., an angel for St. Matthew, a winged lion for St. Mark, a winged ox for

St. Luke, and an eagle for St. John, each holding a scroll. On the upper part are two shields which, instead of being emblazoned with armorial bearings, as was usual, are engraved,—that on the right hand side with the emblem of the Holy Trinity, also in Latin, contracted, read in English, from corner to centre, ‘The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God’; from corner to corner, ‘The Father is not the Son, the Son is not the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit is not the Father.’ The shield on the left has on it the emblems of the Passion, the cross with the crown of thorns. At the foot of the scroll, placed crossways, are the spear and the sponge on the reed, the whipping-post and the scourges, the nails and the hammer. Upon a tablet forming the base is a Latin inscription, thus translated, ‘Here lies John de Campeden, formerly Guardian (Master) of this Hospital, to whose soul may God be propitious.’

“The brass was evidently executed during the lifetime, as there is no date of the death upon it; and there is every possibility that a true likeness is handed down to us after the lapse of five hundred years. He was a tall, thin man; in stature like Bishop Peter Courtenay of about a century later, and also of the present Bishop of Winchester, whom he much resembles. John de Campeden was a trusty and confidential friend of the celebrated William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, and one of the executors of his will. In 1384 he built anew the tower of the church, and roofed the chancel and aisles, besides having other works executed at a cost to him of about £27,000 of our money.”

Mr. Cole sent the following explanatory note:—

“The examples of a new process of copying brasses are the result of about three months’ continuous experiments, so as to produce the copies not only more natural, but very much more attractive than the old style of black and white. I have been a ‘rubber’ for over forty years, and it was not until last summer that I determined to adopt a new plan. I made my own material, which I found very difficult to manufacture so as to produce the result I aimed at, viz., not only to imitate the brass itself with black lines, as in the originals, but to make the vestments in the proper colour, which, although not on the brass, makes an interesting picture, as attractive as an oil painting, useful to hang in the library or hall. Some of the specimens I send are well known to be true likenesses, as they were engraved during the lifetime of those they represent. I was encouraged to persevere as, on exhibiting two copies at Winchester, they were much noticed. The last copy I made was of De Campeden, Master of St. Cross in 1382, which is nearly 8 ft. long, and is very effective; but it took me eight days to do it.”

The rubbings were much admired by the members; but the colouring of the dress was deprecated as being likely hereafter to mislead

some antiquaries to think that the colours so given existed on the brasses themselves.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, laid on the table, by permission of Dr. T. Walker, a Roman equestrian bronze figure found in the Caistor district, and promised a descriptive account of it at the next meeting.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. J. T. Irvine, entitled "An Attempt to recover the Original Design proposed by the Master Mason for the West Front of the Abbey Church of Peterborough"; and an elevation, conjecturally worked out by Mr. Irvine, together with a plan and photographs of the actual condition of the west front of Peterborough Cathedral, were exhibited to illustrate the paper, which it is hoped will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Birch, Mr. Brock, Mr. Micklethwaite, and Mr. Compton took part.

Mr. Brock exhibited an engraving of a washing tablet, and read the following:—

ON WARDROBE OR WASHING TALLIES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

When Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford, "The Merry Wives of Windsor", were tumbling poor Sir John Falstaff into the buck-basket, they took no count of how many "foul shirts and smocks, socks, foul stockings, greasy napkins", and other etcætera, they sent off with the "fat knight" to Datchet Mead. Time and the necessity of the case would not permit of it. But there were contrivances as far back as the days of Shakspeare by which the careful housewife could with the greatest ease and dispatch register the number of articles entrusted to the laundress, whether they were personal apparel or linen for bed and table. Such registers are known to a few antiquaries by the name of *Wardrobe* or *Washing Tallies*; but they are so rarely seen, or indeed heard of, that I venture to call attention to an engraving of a very curious example which was brought to my notice by our old friend the late Dr. Kendrick.

This tally is the property of Mr. J. Clements of Liverpool, and its date is believed to be the early part of the seventeenth century. It may be described as a wooden tablet about 4 in. high, 5 wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, on the face of which is laid a list of things printed on paper; and over this is a thin pane of transparent horn, secured to the panel by marginal strips of latten and brass nails with ornamental heads. The printed paper is divided into fifteen squares arranged in three rows, each square having within it a circle of numerals from 0 to 12, covered by a brass disc turning on a peg, and with a little knob near the edge by which to move it. Towards the edge, on the oppo-

side side to the knob, is a round aperture which, as the disc revolves, reveals a figure at a time, in the manner done by some of the old whistmarkers. For instance, if six socks or eight shirts are to be registered, the discs are to be turned so as to expose these numerals, for above each square is the name of some article placed in the following order. First row, "ruffles, bandes, cuffs, handkerches, capps"; second row, "shirtes, halfshirtes, bootehose, topps, sockes"; third row, "sheete, pillowberes, tableclothes, napkins, towells."

Two or three of the things here specified deserve a word of comment. The "capps" were, no doubt, the night-caps which constituted such important and expensive items in the day attire of the gentlemen of the seventeenth century, and of which an account is given in our *Journal* (xiii, p. 246). What the "halfshirtes" were is not quite so definite. It is a title seldom met with, but is probably another name for the "partlets", which, like the "placecards" of the previous century, were pieces of dress common to both sexes. A query may also be raised regarding the "topps". From their immediately following the "boote hose", they might be taken for the rich lace or other linings of the tops of boots, which, though turned up whilst riding, were reversed at other times so as to display the coloured cloth, silk, or costly guiper. In a copperplate engraving printed in 1646, entitled "The Picture of an English Antike, with a List of his Ridiculous Habits and Apish Gestures", mention is made of his "boot-hose tops, tied about the middle of the calf, as long as a pair of shirt-sleeves; double at the ends, like a ruff-band; the tops of his boots very large, fringed with lace, and turned down as low as his spures." It is, therefore, evident that the "topps" were not those of the boots, but a distinct article of dress; and this is proved by Pepys, who in his *Diary*, sub Oct. 30, 1663, speaks of "silk tops for my legs". They were probably a kind of footless stocking drawn over the hose or sock, and worn more for show than use. Passing over the next two items on the tally, we come to "pillowberes", which is an old designation for pillow-ties, slips, or cases, as they are variously called. We find "vij pylloberys" mentioned in an old inventory;¹ and Davies, in his *Epigrams*, speaks of the "lawn pillowbear" of Zoylus.

A washing tally, apparently identical with Mr. Clement's specimen, was discovered a few years since behind some oak paneling in the chaplain's room, Haddon Hall, Derbyshire; and the late Mr. Andrew Lawson of Aldborough, Yorkshire, was the owner of a tally which bears a very considerable resemblance to the foregoing, but differs slightly in the arrangement of the names of the articles, the first item in the list of fifteen being "bands". This curious example is in good condition, and has the following pedigree inscribed on its back: "A priest's tally. This curious priest's tally was purchased at the sale of

¹ MS. Cantab., Ff. G, f. 58.

the effects of Sir Egerton Brydges at Lee Priory, near Canterbury. It was there stated that it was given to Sir Egerton by an old servant whose family it had been in for many years. It was brought by them into Kent when they left the service of Sir Edward Denny, in the time of James I, 1625. (Signed) John Pont, Canterbury, 12 April 1848." There is nothing in the list of articles to support the title of "a priest's tally" for this tablet, which was doubtlessly intended as a register of lay costume, etc., like others of its kind.

In that gallimaufry of odd scraps entitled *Ten Thousand Wonderful Things*, at p. 3, is an engraving of a washing tally which presents certain differences in construction from those previously described. It is, like the other tablets, or books as some call them, divided into fifteen squares; but instead of having but one numeral visible at a time, the whole circle of figures, from 1 to 24, are exposed to view, and are inscribed on revolving discs turning by and on central knobs, a notch being beneath each disc, and against which the number of caps, etc., to be registered must be placed. The articles enumerated on this "washing board" differ somewhat in title, arrangement, and orthography from those hitherto considered, and stand thus:—First row, bands, cuffs, handkerchiefs, caps, drawers; second row, shirts, habit-shirts, cravats, sleeves, socks; third row, pillow-covers, towels, napkins, tablecloths, sheets. The drawers, cravats, and sleeves are new items in this list of apparel; and the "half-shirts" and "pillow-beres" of the former tallies are here changed into habit-shirts and pillow-covers,—a clear proof that the specimen belongs to a later period than either of the preceding registers: indeed, its age is pretty well fixed by the mention of cravats, which date from the reign of Charles II.

These rare tabular tallies bring to mind a wardrobe-account of the time of King Charles II, described in our *Journal*, i, p. 156, which is written on a slip of vellum, 5 in. wide by 15 in. long, and headed, "A Mapp of all my Wearing Cloathes I have now, 1661." It is divided into thirty-four rows of a dozen squares, each row numbered from 1 to 12, and each square having beneath it a smaller square perforated for the admission of a knotted cord to be placed beneath the desired number to indicate the possession of so many tops or socks; the names of the several articles being written on the left side of the thirty-four rows, and include the following pieces of adornment, "cravatts, plain; laced cravates, ... things, great cuffes, ... cuffes, hankerechers, cuff's plaine, drawers, slenes, shirts hole, halfe shirts, boot hose-line(n), lining (linen) topps, line stookens, line socks, wooling stookens, wooling topps, woo boot hose, ... socks, line-towells, cloth doublets, cloth briches, cloth cotts, stufe doublets, stufe briches, stufe cotts, weast cotts, boouts, showes, spours, halfe stookens, Jersi boot hose, scarge

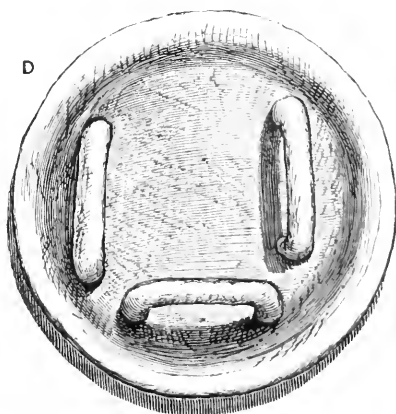
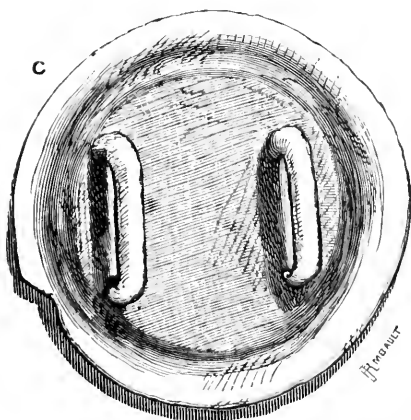
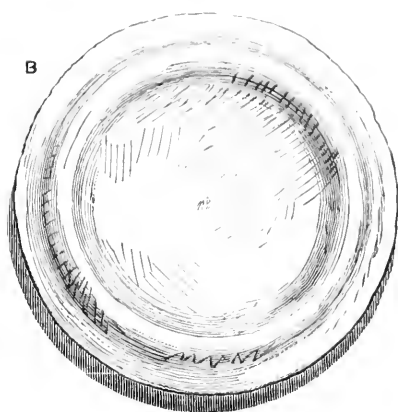
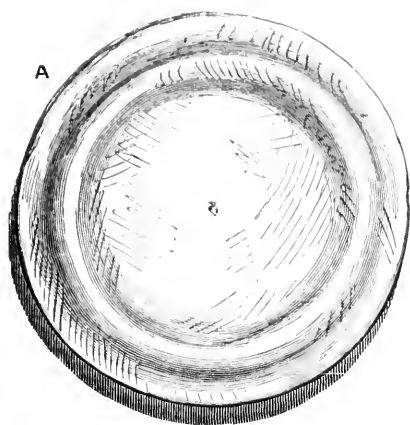
a village situated about five miles from the point where the river enters the fens, Roman masonry crops out in the streets, and coins, portions of tessellated pavement, etc., are frequently turned up by the plough in the surrounding fields. It was here that, some seventy years since, Artis pursued the researches, the results of which are recorded in his *Durobrivæ*. Here, and for some miles east and west, the river divides the counties of Huntingdon and Northampton. Castor is situated on the northern side; but it is in Huntingdonshire, on the southern side, that recently, in excavating for gravel and limestone, the greatest number of Roman relics have been found.

Three miles below Castor, and about half a mile from the river, there is a low bank, 40 ft. wide (a plan of the section accompanies these notes), which running in a direction parallel to the river for about half a mile, then turns at a sharp angle towards the stream. Of the latter portion, which runs north and south, very little remains, the ground having been levelled or covered with buildings many years since. The river, with these two banks, would form three sides of an irregular quadrilateral space, the westward side being marked by no boundary. Within this space a few Roman coins and some ornaments have been found, while immediately outside, and towards the angle formed by the junction of the two banks, within the last fifteen years, some thirty skeletons have been uncovered, and with them Roman coins, rings, brooches, bangles, and earthenware vessels, etc., have been found, most of which are in my possession.

It was in this situation, about 20 yards from the bank, that, two years since, a skeleton was uncovered, near the skull of which were found the statuette now exhibited, and the roundels and radiated bronze masks shown to the Association a few weeks since. The roundels had loops at the back for straps, two on one pair, and three on the other. The masks had apparently been originally brazed on to the roundels. The figure and the saddlecloth, originally brazed on in like manner to the horse, were separated when found.

I may say that while the coins which I have in my possession from Castor and the fields immediately around the village, cover almost the whole period of the Roman occupation of Britain, those found here are limited to the last part of the first and the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, which enables us to fix approximately the date at which the burials took place with which the statuette and other articles are identified.

These notes, thrown together in the midst of pressing and absorbing occupation, may enable those skilled in the interpretation of the full meaning of archæological remains, to come to some conclusion as to the history which attaches to this find. My own conjecture is that the river and the low banks formed the defensive boundaries to the



BRONZE BOSSES AND MASKS.
Found near Castor.



north, south, and east of a large space in which was located a camp or settlement. The country in these directions is such a dead level that even a bank of the dimensions described would be of service as a defence; and it would probably be from the fastnesses of the fens that the native British would make their attacks. To the west the country is undulating; and three miles distant was the important settlement of Castor. If my conjecture is right, it would, I believe, be in accordance with the customs of the Romans, that those dying in the camp should be buried outside the earthwork which bounded it.

J. Sylvester, Esq., Slade, Petersfield, exhibited a large quantity of burnt and unburnt bones, several flint scrapers, earth of dark colour, fragments of bronze, and of a curious, furrowed object, broken, very much like a mould for a dagger of tapering form. These articles were samples of many similar which have recently been found in excavating two ancient tumuli on his estate at Petersfield. Mr. Sylvester described the excavations which he has undertaken to explore the tumuli, and also three curious parallel banks which extend from side to side of a well-defined valley now covered with timber-trees and undergrowth.

The bones were pronounced by the meeting to be not all human. They were, doubtless, those of animals killed for the funeral feast. The fragment of a single urn was found to be of very early age. Mr. Sylvester's notes will be put into order, and it is hoped they will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

A paper by Dr. T. N. Brushfield, on "The Drunkard's Cloak of Newcastle-upon-Tyne", was then read, in the author's absence, by R. Howlett, Esq. It was illustrated by a large number of drawings, sketches, and engravings from old books. The paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Reference was then made to the loss which the Association had sustained by the death of George Godwin, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.S., one of the oldest of the Vice-Presidents, and one of the earliest members of the Association, who always took a lively interest in its welfare.

WEDNESDAY, 7TH MARCH 1888.

CECIL BRENT, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cantiana," vol. xxvii.

„ „ for "Památky Archæologické a Mistopisné," 1885, 1886.

V Praze. Dilu, xiv, 1-4. 1887.

To the Society, for "Geschäfts-Bericht Welcher in der General Versammlung der Gesellschaft des Museums des Königreiches Böhmen," etc. Am 22 Jan., 1888.

" " for "Bibliographie Historique de l'Arrondissement de Saint-Omer," 1887; and for "Bulletin Historique," Nouv. Sér., livr. 143, 144, of the Soc. des Antiquaires de la Morinie.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited drawings by Mr. J. T. Irvine of a Roman villa, with pavements, at Bath, on the site of the Hospital, with sketch of a thick slab inscribed:

<p>..... NOVANTI FIL PRO SE ET SVIS EX VISV POSSV¹_T</p>
--

Mr. Brock also exhibited a plan of an earthwork at Sawbridgeworth, and read the following note addressed by the writer to Mr. C. R. Smith, F.S.A., who desired it should be laid before the meeting:—

"I enclose a plan of a work which I have known for years, and which I always thought was an old farmhouse with moat, such as are common in Essex; but on shooting near it I was struck by the sharpness of the lines of the ditch. It is in a field with no road, and there is no record of any house having ever existed. It is very much like the forts built by Napoleon about Boulogne, which the people say were made for cavalry, to protect the horses. Inside the ditch is a confused mass of mounds. There is an old mansion about half a mile distant, called 'Shingey Hall', which is described in Salmon and Chauncey; and before exploring I thought it might have been a fish-stew, but the ditch and mounds would not agree with this theory. About a mile and a half away, at Stonard's Farm, Roman pottery has been found in considerable quantity. Can there have been a small Roman post here? The outside edge of the ditch is as fine and clear cut as on the day it was made, and has evidently been made by engineers. The angles are perfectly sharp, which is not the case with the old farmhouse moats that I have seen, and the slopes are perfect. It is a curious structure to find in the middle of a field. Inside the ditch there is, of course, a thick growth of underwood. I searched for an Italian plant, but could find none."

Mr. Brock then read the following communication respecting

COWICK BARTON, NEAR EXETER.

BY DR. ALFRED FRYER.

Cowick was a Priory of Benedictine monks, and was given by William Fitz Baldwin to the famous Abbey of Bec in the reign of Henry II.

This Priory, like many other religious houses, passed through some vicissitudes. In the reign of Henry V it was seized by the Crown on the plea that it was an alien Priory, but on the petition of the Prior it was restored to his successor. In 1445 the buildings were severely damaged by a fire, and it also suffered from inundations of the Exe. The place was so impoverished that the Prior, Robert de Rouen, resigned the government of it, and the Priory was given to King's College. Shortly after this event it was surrendered to the Crown, for we find that in 1462 King Edward IV gave it to the Abbot of Tavistock, and it remained under the rule of this Abbey until the dissolution of religious houses, when it passed into the hands of the Russells, by whom it appears to have been demolished.

Many of the Courtenay family chose the conventual church of St. Andrew for their place of interment. Hugh Lord Courtenay, Baron of Oakhampton, was buried here in 1291, and also another Baron Hugh in 1340, while Agnes Courtenay, Countess of Devon, was solemnly interred in this church in the same year.

"It is strange", writes Oliver in his *Monasteries of Devon*, "that the site of this Priory can no longer be traced with any degree of satisfaction. It is clear, however, from *Bishop Stafford's Register* (vol. ii, p. 287), that it was situated at the further extremity of the parish of St. Thomas, and that it must have stood on the low lands bordering on the Exe, as it appears to have suffered considerable damage from the inundations of the river."

Since the above was written, the site, in all probability, of the old Priory Chapel of St. Andrew has been discovered. A few weeks ago workmen were making a drain through a field at Cowick Barton, near Exeter, when they came upon a stone coffin containing bones. Further exploration revealed more bones in a stone-walled grave lying in the immediate neighbourhood, some tiles, the remains of a metal chalice, and a coin. The coffin seems to be of thirteenth century work. It is 10 in. deep inside, and 2 ft. outside measurement, 2 ft. 6 in. wide at the head, and 19 in. at the feet, and of some material like Portland stone. The cover, made of one solid block with a large cross on the upper side, was cemented down.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited six ancient engraved gems of the Sassanian period, four Assyrian cylinder-seals, portions of the handle of a Persian sword damascened in the gold, and some impressions of Persian seals.

The Rev. Preb. H. M. Searth, M.A., sent for exhibition a jetton found at Wrington in Somersetshire. *Obv.*, shield of arms of France surmounted by a basket of fruit. "Camera Computor. Regionum." *Rev.*, head of Janus on a pedestal between two cornucopie. "Subducendis Rationibus. 1522."

Mr. H. D. Cole sent for exhibition a rubbing of the second inscription at Winchester (referred to at a previous meeting), on the screen on the south side of the choir built by Bishop Fox over the spot where the coffer is built into the wall below. It is in Lombardic capitals, and reads as follows: + HIC : IACET : RICARDVS : WILL'1 : SENIORIS : REGIS : FILI : ET BEORN : DVX. At the end is an elegantly designed scroll of foliage.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited, and Mr. Brock described, a collection of pottery recovered from excavations in Southwark, on the site of the new Subway. It comprises black Upchurch ware and red Samian ware. Also from an excavation in Gray's Inn Road, two green glazed jugs of the fifteenth century.

Mr. Allan Wyon exhibited two rose-nobles of (1), Edward III; (2), Edward IV, and described them.

A fine collection of photographs of ancient buildings in the city of Rome was laid on the table by Mr. T. Blashill, who promised a description of them at a future meeting.

Mr. Birch read a paper on "St. Peter's Church, Croft", by Mr. J. P. Pritchett, Hon. Secretary to the Darlington Congress. It was illustrated by plan and drawings, and it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Allen, Mr. Brock, and Mr. Way took part in the discussion which ensued.

WEDNESDAY, 21ST MARCH 1888.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected:

A. G. Langdon, Esq., 17 Craven Street, Strand.

Henry R. Knipe, Esq., 54 Wilbury Road, West Brighton.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:

To the Society, for "Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France," tome xiv, 2e livr. Toulouse, 1887. And "Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France," Nouv. Série, No. 4. 1887.

To E. E. Baker, Esq., for "A True and Perfect Narrative of the late Extraordinary Snows [1674]." Edited by E. E. Baker. 1887. 4to.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced the progress of the arrangements for the Annual Congress to be held this year at Glasgow, in August, under distinguished patronage. Mr. Brock also

announced the opening of a subscription to excavate the site of St. Germanus' Chapel at St. Alban's.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a facsimile of a charter of King Edgar, A.D. 974, in H.M. Record Office, relating to Copplestone, co. Devon; and a drawing of the stone, still standing *in situ*, which is mentioned in the land-boundaries of that charter.

Mr. Brock also exhibited several specimens of ancient *millefiori* glass from Rome.

Mr. A. G. Langdon and Mr. J. Romilly Allen's paper on "Ancient Christian Monuments of Cornwall," was read by Mr. Langdon, and illustrated by a very large collection of drawings of crosses found in that county. It will, it is hoped, find a place hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Brock read a paper by Mr. R. Mann respecting the condition of the Roman Bath at Bath, illustrated with a plan of the remains recently laid open, now being covered over or obliterated by new buildings. He exhibited also a view showing the relation of these portions with the large square bath and other apartments beyond it.

Obituary.

MR. GEORGE GODWIN, V.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE death of our old friend and Vice-President, Mr. Godwin, is thus recorded in *The Times* :—

“Mr. Godwin died at his residence in Cromwell Place, South Kensington, on the 27th of January. Himself the son of an architect, Mr. Godwin was born at Brompton on the 28th of January 1815. At the age of thirteen he entered his father’s office, and soon showed a taste towards literature and the scientific aspects of art. For some time he acted as joint Editor of a magazine entitled *The Literary Union*. In 1835 he received the first medal awarded by the Royal Institute of British Architects for his essay on ‘Concrete’, and his treatise was almost immediately translated into several languages. It still remains a standard work on the subject not only in this country but in France, Germany, and Italy.

“Mr. Godwin took an active part, in 1836-37, in originating the Art Union of London, and for a long period he acted as Honorary Secretary to this popular institution. It was the object of the promoters to educate the public taste in matters of art, and the Union has excellently fulfilled its purpose, having spent large sums for the benefit of artists, and in the popularising of art among the community. The Art Union now possesses a charter, with an annual income of many thousands of pounds.

“In 1837 Mr. Godwin issued *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of Railways*, and the following year he began the compilation of an important work describing the ecclesiastical buildings of the metropolis, under the title of *The Churches of London*. It was published in two volumes, with illustrations from drawings by Mackenzie and Billings. He now contributed papers to the meetings of the Institute of British Architects and other societies, and was one of the principal writers on *The Art Journal*, *Architectural Magazine*, and *The Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal*. The Society of Antiquaries printed his first essay on ‘Masons’ Marks’ in 1843, in its *Archeologia*.

“Turning now to lighter pursuits in literature, he wrote a farce called *The Last Day*, which was played at the Olympic in October 1840, and he subsequently produced a number of dramas. With Mr. Lewis Pocock he edited *The Pilgrim’s Progress* in 1844, also supplying a memoir of Bunyan; and the same year he published a volume entitled *Facts and Fancies*. At this time also he became Editor of *The Builder*,

a journal which in his hands soon attained high usefulness and distinction. It is the object of this organ 'to instil correct ideas into the public mind in relation to the adaptation of the different styles of architecture to situations and conditions.'

"Mr. Godwin published, in 1848, his *Buildings and Monuments, Modern and Medieval*; and in 1853 appeared his *History in Ruins*, a series of letters addressed to a lady, in which he endeavoured to convey the history of architecture to the general reader in popular language, avoiding all possible technicalities, and interspersing pleasant passages in appropriate situations, with the object of interesting the public in an important domestic and public art. Drainage and ventilation, which at that time were generally in a scandalous condition, the writer dwelt upon at large, especially in the interests of the poor. Prince Albert afterwards took up the subject, and in 1851 erected a model dwelling in Hyde Park. Mr. Godwin was one of the Jurors at the Great Exhibition of 1851. In a work published in 1854, under the title of *London Shadows*, he embodied a portion of the results of an 'Inquiry into the Condition of the Houses of the Poor,' which he had undertaken in the preceding year. This was succeeded by *Town Swamps and Social Bridges*; and these two works furnished graphic pictures of the modes of life prevailing among the humbler classes of the metropolis. Pursuing his subject at a still later date, the writer exhorted Londoners to 'drain the swamps and increase the bridges'. Two other works by Mr. Godwin deserve mention here, namely, *Memoirs of Workers*, and *Another Blow for Life*. In the latter volume, which appeared in 1864, he again called attention to the way in which life was made short, health depreciated, happiness prevented, manners degraded, and crime and sorrow increased by our sanitary and social defects and shortcomings.

"As an architect Mr. Godwin attained considerable success and distinction. In the year 1847 he was awarded a premium for his selected design for the Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum. He also designed St. Mary's Church, West Brompton; the Infant Schools, Redcliffe; and (in conjunction with his brother Henry) St. Jude's, West Brompton. He was further entrusted with the restoration of the magnificent church of St. Mary's, Redcliffe, Bristol; and he directed the restoration of St. Mary's Church, Ware; Standon Church, and many others.

"Shakespearean productions had a fascination for him, and Mr. Charles Kean consulted his drawings for the fine illustrative scenes which distinguished his representations of *Macbeth*, *Richard II*, *Henry VIII*, and *The Winter's Tale*. In 1878 he published a book on *The Desirability of Obtaining a National Theatre*, in which he advocated one national theatre for the metropolis, to be supported either by Government subsidies or by private subscriptions. By this means the

national theatre would be 'rendered independent of the caprices of fashion or the prevailing taste of the public.'

"Mr. Godwin received the Queen's Gold Medal in 1881; and to commemorate the event he founded a bursary of £40 *per ann.* at the Institute of Architects, to encourage the study of foreign architecture, a subject in which he had always taken a deep interest. In 1884 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes. Mr. Godwin was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and a member and Vice-President of the Institute of British Architects. In 1840 he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Société Libre des Beaux Arts of Paris for his published works."

MR. E. G. SQUIER.

WE learn from *The Times* that the death is announced, from New York, of Mr. Ephraim George Squier, the distinguished American writer and traveller, for many years our Honorary Foreign Correspondent. Mr. Squier was born at Bethlehem, in the State of New York, in 1821. In early life he pursued a variety of occupations. He was brought up on a farm, then he conducted a school, subsequently became a newspaper editor, and later still studied engineering. Removing to Ohio, he undertook, in conjunction with Dr. E. H. Davis, an exploration of the aboriginal monuments in the Valley of the Mississippi, the results of which were published, in 1848, in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*. By this work his reputation as an archaeologist was achieved. During the same year appeared his work on *The Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York*.

For five years Mr. Squier now acted as Chargé d'Affaires to the Republic of Central America. On his return he was engaged in literary labour in New York. In 1863 he was appointed United States Commissioner to Peru, and he remained in that country for two years, making extensive journeys to explore the remaining works of the Incas, with the design of preparing an exhaustive treatise on the subject. Returning to New York, he began his task, which was nearly completed when, in 1874, he was attacked by a severe illness which incapacitated him from continuous mental labour, but not before his abundant materials had been arranged, and the work was nearly ready for the press. It was eventually published in 1876.

In addition to numerous contributions to periodical literature, to the proceedings of learned societies, translations, and scientific reports, Mr. Squier was the author of the following important works, some of which have assumed a standard character: *Nicaragua and its People*,

etc., 1852; *The Serpent Symbol*, 1852; *Notes on Central America*, 1854; *The States of Central America*, 1857; *Report of the Survey of the Honduras Inter-oceanic Railway*, London, 1859; *Monograph of Authors who have written on the Aboriginal Languages of Central America*, 1861; *Honduras, Descriptive, Historical, and Statistical*, 1870; and *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*, 1876. Most of these works have been translated into German, French, and Spanish.

Mr. Squier had been awarded the Gold Medal of the French Geographical Society. He was a member of many learned associations in Europe and America, and in 1871 was elected President of the Anthropological Society of New York.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Ancient Sepulchral Monuments from the Earliest Period down to the End of the Eighteenth Century. Published by the Authors at 20 Cockspur Street, London, S.W.—The fine illustrated volume just published by Mr. Brindley and Mr. Weatherley embraces nearly every description of sepulchral monument, and has evidently been the work of years. There are between six and seven hundred examples, for the most part to a uniform scale of one inch to the foot, with numerous details and sections so essential to a work intended for practical use. The illustrations are grouped, and as far as possible chronologically. We find Egyptian and Assyrian obelisks, Etruscan and Greek headstones, the cross in all its developments, sarcophagi, grave-slabs, tablets, and in fact an almost exhaustive collection of every known description of sepulchral monument, engraved brasses excepted; and from the accuracy with which these are drawn, they will prove of the utmost interest to the archaeologist. With few exceptions, the authors appear to have avoided very large and costly monuments, unless it be to illustrate some special type. We should have been glad, however, to have seen among the English specimens a careful drawing of one of the Eleanor crosses, which would have been useful as a model.

We notice some examples of incised slabs, the lines being filled in with black or various coloured mastics, notably those from Châlons-sur-Marne (Plate 122) and Siena (Plates 124 and 125). Their age proves them to be as durable, and in treatment they are quite as effective, as brass, whilst the relative cost would be greatly in favour of the stone. A number of late Renaissance tombstones are given; and

these quaint and pretty memorials, mostly under 4 feet high, and worked out of thick stones, form a striking contrast to their tall and thin modern representatives, and they possess the merit of coming well within the reach of those with limited means.

In concluding our brief notice of this remarkable volume we can assure all who desire a memorial for the departed that its study will be invaluable to them, and that in the hands of the craftsman we believe it will become a great instrument towards the extirpation of the modern monstrosities which abound in our cemeteries and churchyards.

Remnants of Old English Architecture. By THOMAS LOCKE WORTHINGTON, A.R.I.B.A.—This will consist of thirty-five plates with descriptive letterpress, and an introduction on the ecclesiastical and domestic architecture of England, and will comprise—Early Pointed architecture: measured drawings; perspectives and details of Wenlock Priory, Shropshire; Stone Church, Kent; Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire; Bredon Church, Worcestershire,—Perpendicular architecture: Manchester Cathedral; Haddon Hall, Derbyshire; Wigmore Church, Shropshire, etc.,—Old English half-timber architecture: Ludlow, Stokesay Castle, Much Wenlock, Shropshire,—Architectural studies: Bristol, Canterbury, Evesham, Gloucester, etc.,—Sketches in France.

The illustrations will be reproduced from the author's original drawings by photo-lithography, and printed on thick crown folio paper, interleaved, and the volume will be wholly bound in leather. Subscription copy, £1 1s. No list of subscribers will be published. It is intended that the volume shall be ready for subscribers early in 1888. Sprague and Co., 22 Martin's Lane, Cannon Street, E.C., will receive subscriptions, and despatch copies (carriage paid) on receipt of remittance.

Congress of the Société Française d'Archéologie.—The Congress of this Society will open on the 12th of June in the Hôtel de Ville of Dax, and on the 17th at Bayonne, under the presidency of the Comte de Marsy, Director of the Society. It will be followed by an excursion to Pampeluna in Spain. The admission fee is only 10 francs, for which a volume of the Proceedings of the Congress will be given.

To all who are interested in Roman architecture, the visit to Dax (the *Aquæ Tarbellicæ* of the Romans) will be specially attractive. This will be apparent on reference to the fifth volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, which gives an illustrated account of the remarkably well preserved walls of the town, from a survey made by Mr. C. Roach Smith, who succeeded (from an appeal to the Emperor) in staying their destruction. It would be satisfactory to know their condition

at the present time, for M. Thiers, when in power (after the fall of Napoleon III), revoked the conservative decree. On the medal voted to Mr. C. Roach Smith by his friends, the late Mr. W. J. Taylor engraved a view of the walls and one of the gateways, which, though on a small scale, conveys an excellent notion of these fine remains.

For tickets and for general information as regards lodgings, etc., application should be made to M. Georges Camiade, at Dax (Landes), before the 1st of June.

Tong Church.—The work done at this church last summer by Messrs. Bowdler and Co., builders, Shrewsbury, comprised a thorough restoration of the roof of the nave and aisles, the recasting and relaying of the lead, and the cleansing of the walls of the nave from colour-wash. This was carried out at a cost of £700, leaving a balance in hand of £118 : 2 : 6. It is intended to proceed with the restoration of the roof of the chancel, the transepts, and the Vernon Chapel, and the cleansing of the walls and all masonry from colour-wash. Nearly £1,000 have been expended on the work of restoration; but £1,400 or £1,500 have still to be raised before the work can be satisfactorily completed, and it is hoped that all who are interested in this grand old church will help by sending subscriptions to the credit of the Restoration Fund at Lloyd's Bank, Shifnal; or to the Vicar, the Rev. G. Rivett-Carnac. Mr. Ewan Christian is the architect, and the following words from his report on the church will show the spirit in which the work is being done: "The church is one of such very unusual beauty and interest, and so generally perfect in all ancient features, that it is well worthy of most careful restoration; which, while it is thorough in respect of repair, should also be entirely conservative in the method of its treatment."

The Enemies of Books. By WILLIAM BLADES. (E. Stock, 62 Paternoster Row. 1888.)—This is an interesting little work which will be read with much pleasure. Mr. Blades devotes his chapters to the destruction of libraries by fire, water, gas, heat, dust and neglect, ignorance and bigotry, bookbinders, servants, and children. This is a formidable host of enemies, and the wonder is that any bibliographical treasures have been preserved from them. He has omitted some enemies, the waste-paper dealer, the buttermilk man, and so forth. This is a book that would be well placed in the hands of the young librarian. It teems with apposite notices of literary adventures, and the anecdotes are of a class that ought to be well remembered, and their teaching acted upon.

Haarlem the Birthplace of Printing, not Mentz. By J. H. HESSELS,

Hon. M.A. Cantab. (Stock: Paternoster Row.)—We have here a polemical diatribe of the first order. Mr. Hessels is well known as a literary freelance, and we pity Dr. Van der Linde, author of *The Invention of Printing*, against whom he here raises his hand. Notwithstanding this, the reader will glean some valuable hints about the early days of the European printing press from these pages, if he is content to follow the teaching of the old printer's conceit,—“*cœsugit hæc mel, absorbet at ista venenum*”—under a flower, but on which are seen a bee and a wasp. There are both *mel* of bee and *venenum* of wasp in this book; but we may profit by the one, and eschew the other.

Domesday Studies, being the Papers read at Domesday Commemoration, 1886. Vol. i. (Longmans.)—The agitation first set on foot by Mr. W. de Gray Birch for a *Domesday* Commemoration has resulted in the production of this work, which contains several essays on *Domesday* matters treated from new and contemporary points of view. The work forms a valuable *addendum* to the *Introduction* by Sir Henry Ellis, published by the Record Commissioners. It should be in the hands of all students of early history, and without it no just estimate can be formed of this great and national MS. We look forward to the second volume, to complete the *Studies*, with much interest.

The Story of Little England Beyond Wales, and the Non-Kymric Colony settled in Pembrokeshire. By EDWARD LAWS. (G. Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden.)—The author of this book, Mr. Edward Laws, is well known to the Associates, whose visit to the town of Tenby in the year 1884 was enhanced by his kindly assistance in pointing out the various points of antiquarian interest with which that locality abounds.

Mr. Laws has been for several years engaged in pursuing his researches into the archaic and mediæval history of this peninsula of South Pembrokeshire, and he now gives forth the result of his labours to his fellow-workers in the form of a handsome quarto book well illustrated with numerous woodcuts. With little groundwork on which to take his stand, if we except the antiquated and often inaccurate *Historical Tour* of Fenton, Mr. Laws has had, for the most part, to pick his way as a pioneer through the vast *matériel* of mediæval literature, and the harvest which he has gleaned will prove to his readers an exceedingly fruitful one, for he has probably left little ungarnered behind him. The picture drawn of this region in the dawning days of the terrestrial cosmos is remarkably vivid. The table of the Tenby beasts of old includes bears, wolves, foxes, hyænas, lions, mammoths, rhinoceros, Irish elks, reindeer, and bison. Along with these he has found palæolithic and neolithic relics. The peninsula is especially rich in

neolithic remains, such as flint-flakes, cliff-castles, hut-circles, kitchen-middens, long barrows, cromlechs, stone avenues, and monoliths. To them the bronze age succeeds, and it is in turn equally well exemplified by the relics which Mr. Laws has with indefatigable industry collected, noted, classified, and described. In this we have, *inter alia*, bronze axes, tumuli, beacons, urns, incense-cups, prehistoric villages, and cupped stones. To this age the author points the survival of the curious custom of "horse-weddings", when all the bridal party went to church on horseback.

The Romans, he finds, reached Pembrokeshire probably about A.D. 52, and left behind them a finely enamelled fibula, found at Stackpoole Warren (now in the British Museum), and a large number of coins ranging from Julius Cæsar, A.D. 44, to Constansius, A.D. 350. But beyond these there is little else; and the absence of roads and buildings is very significant, and quite warrants the statement of our late President at Tenby, the Lord Bishop of St. David's, who questioned if there were any trustworthy evidence that the Romans ever got into Pembrokeshire at all.

Subsequent chapters in this exhaustive work treat of the introduction of Christianity into South Wales, Oghams and stones sculptured with crosses, the age of Gildas, the Kymro, and the Scandinavians, with the place-names and surnames which these latter have conferred on the locality and the people. With some of these derivations we cannot altogether agree with Mr. Laws, as, for example, Musselwick for *Mos, fell, vik*. The name may just as likely be derived from *Mousehole*, in Cornwall. The crosses of Carew and Nevern, the myths of Pembrokeshire as recorded in the *Mabinogion*, the effect of the Norman advent, the fortunes of Pembroke Castle, the introduction of the Flemish settlers in the opening years of the twelfth century, their so-called "round chimneys", Giraldus Cambrensis and his times, the Marshals Earls of Pembroke, the English subjugation of Wales, the varying fortunes of Pembrokeshire in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, the civil wars, and many other notable relics and historical occurrences which go to make up the sum of this interesting work, have been carefully discussed, and their points of interest elucidated in a judicious and temperate manner by Mr. Laws, whose labours in this respect will most certainly command, as they deserve, the attention and consideration of all whose researches take them into "Little England Beyond Wales" and its happy hunting-grounds for antiquaries and historical archæologists.

Cæsar in Kent; an Account of the Landing of Julius Cæsar and his Battles with the Ancient Britons. By the Rev. FRANCIS T. VINE, B.A., Rector of Eastington, Stonchouse, Gloucestershire. (Stock, 1887).—

This little work, which has reached a second edition, has been written with much care, and after considerable examination of the authorities which treat of the subject from contemporary points. The description of the early British colonies and the trade (which even at that period appears to have been of an extensive and very varied character) is of great interest. It, however, remains to be seen whether Mr. Vine's theories on the landing-place of Cæsar will be accepted or rejected by antiquaries, but he certainly makes out a strong case in favour of Deal.

We cannot accept Mr. Vine's derivation of "Cotemanfield", the spot where King Ethelbert first received Augustine, as "the Field of the Man of God" (p. 240); nor his endorsement of Batteley's idea, that the name of the river Wantsum was a Saxon word meaning *valde decrescens*. This name, like nearly all other English river-names, is Celtic, and has affinities with other well-known examples.

The map illustrating the strategical movements at Barham Downs, when Cæsar returned after repairing his shattered fleet at Deal, will prove especially useful in following the author's detailed account of this important and critical proceeding in the course of the imperial invasion.





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THE WALLS OF CHESTER.

BY C. ROACH SMITH, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

(*Read at Chester after the Liverpool Congress, 22nd August 1887.*)

DURING the Sixth Congress of the British Archaeological Association, in 1849, I had a good opportunity of inspecting the Walls of Chester, under the guidance of the Rev. W. H. Massie, and in company with some of the most scientific men of the town. The result of this investigation was published in the fifth volume of the *Journal* of the Association under the sanction and full approval of the Central Committee, which included men of experience well qualified to judge of the opinion I had given.

In 1868 was published the sixth volume of my *Collectanea Antiqua*; and in it a rather lengthy article on the Roman remains of Chester, which included a review of the Walls; their peculiar character; a comparison with similar works, in which was noted their discordance with most of the mural defences of Roman towns in the south of England.

Until lately I never heard of any objections to my views; but from what I have read I gather that much, if not all, of what I have called Roman, is asserted to be of the time of James I. Although my opinion is challenged, and I am named and referred to personally, I cannot see that, in any one instance, either of the above-named works is mentioned; so that if anyone should desire to act judicially and weigh the matter

carefully, he probably will be kept altogether ignorant of what I have written.¹ To these works I appeal in my defence, and to the views therein given; while I venture to criticise the imagined and baseless rectifications.

1. The first and main argument advanced against the Roman structure of the Walls is, or was, that they show no bonding courses of tiles, such as are found in most of the Roman walls in the south. No reasoning could be more unfortunate for the reasoners, as it proves that they could not have studied, even if they knew of, the mural defences of *Isurium*, now Aldborough, the next great station to the north of York. It is of easy access, or it could have been known and studied through Mr. Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, a valuable illustrated work on the antiquities of Aldborough. The walls are shown to have been built of large squared stones like those of Chester, and also without bonding courses of tiles. Moreover, in all the great *castra* to the north of Chester, and in the Great Wall itself, there are no bonding courses of tiles. I am not aware of an exception; and it would seem that to the north of York they cease altogether, that is to say, so far as I can ascertain. For France, it may be sufficient to point to the fine walls of Arles, faced, like those of Chester, with large square stones without bonding courses of tiles.²

2. The information given me, in 1849, respecting the quarries which supplied the stone for the Chester walls, for the Roman work and also for the restorations, was from geologists, to whose province it belongs. It is well known to all who have studied the Great Roman Wall, that durable facing-stone was invariably selected; and that often the quarries were miles distant. It was not so with the architects of the Middle Ages, as buildings in Chester and elsewhere clearly demonstrate. As regards the two distinct kinds of lichens upon the

¹ I have since seen Mr. Shrubsole's paper in the *Archæological Journal*, No. 173, 1887. He mentions the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. v; but the *Collectanea Antiqua* is passed over in silence. In not one of the articles in the local press could I see any reference to either of these works.

² *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi, pl. 2.

ancient and the mediæval facing-stones, I pointed them out to hundreds, who, with myself, were struck by this unlooked-for botanico-archæological fact.

3. That the cornice which runs along the upper part of the northern wall for, I believe, nearly 100 yards, was taken from some Roman building, and applied in mediæval times, as asserted, is what I cannot admit. Here arises the question, Are the Roman walls indicative of an enlargement of the city? or, having been in part overthrown, were they restored by the Romans themselves? We have numerous examples of the restoration of Roman town walls by the Romans themselves, and (as it would appear also from those of Chester), out of monuments of all kinds, used as building materials. I may draw attention to the fact, that almost all the fine sculptures which illustrate my articles on Roman social and industrial life were taken out of Roman town walls.¹ I may name Dijon, Bordeaux, and Sens, among others. My friend and colleague, M. H. Schuermans, President of the Court of Appeal at Liège, has found the same in Roman towns in Belgium; in those of Arlon for example; and he has written specially on the subject. He and I agree perfectly in our conclusions. I cannot cite a higher living authority; while of the past is M. De Caumont, founder of the *Société Française d'Archéologie*, and the valuable *Bulletin Monumental*.

Sens may be specially referred to in illustration of these remarks. Portions of its Roman wall yet remain in spite of generations of town councils.² Yet the interior was found to be composed, to a great extent, of Roman sepulchral monuments and of sculptures from public buildings. They were used by the Romans themselves, and not by the citizens of after ages. The same with Bordeaux. Here it was noticed that some respect was paid to the monuments, from the careful manner in which they were used as building materials. This accounts for the perfect condition in which many of them were found.

The Roman walls of London have revealed the same practice. During recent destruction of bastions and of

¹ See *Collectanea Antiqua*, vols. iii, iv, v, and vi.

² *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 172.

the curtain wall, valuable sculptures have been extricated. I had proved years ago that this wall showed an extensive enlargement of Londinium at a comparatively late date; and I published some fine sepulchral sculptures and an inscription, together with large mill-stones, taken out of the wall near Tower Hill. I had also noticed that the foundations of the wall on the Thames side were chiefly composed of very large squared stones, many of which were ornamented.¹

What has been found recently in the Chester wall I do not yet know; but the Congress of the Association will no doubt examine all the remains, and be competent to pronounce on them decisively and definitely.

In reference to local influences, I referred, in a post-script, to the decrease of tessellated pavements towards the north. I find that Dr. Brushfield published instances of some of a low class found at Chester. Mr. Ecroyd Smith states that he knows of none beyond Well, near Masham, in the North Riding of York.

NOTES.

1. Although in 1849 my knowledge of Roman castrametation was chiefly confined, in practical experience, to the south of England, yet I had become conversant, in illustrated publications, with foreign Roman mural architecture; and I did not hesitate in at once recognising the Walls of Chester as unquestionably Roman, with restorations of later times equally evident. This I should have done had I not been favoured with the companionship and written remarks of the Rev. W. H. Massie, a sound and cautious antiquary. Neither did I then know of the construction of the walls of *Isurium* (Aldborough), for Mr. Ecroyd Smith did not publish his researches there until 1852. This excuse will not avail those who in 1886 were ignorant how closely the walls resemble those of Chester, being built of large squared stones without bonding courses of tiles. While these bonding courses are common with the small, square stone facing of Roman town walls, there are exceptions. The walls of Caerwent (the *Venta Silurum*) have none. Here the bastions are also an exception; for instead of being square or round, as is usual, they are hexagonal.²

2. It should not be difficult for the geologists of the locality to ascertain whence the Romans obtained the stone for the Walls. It is

¹ *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 19.

² *Journal of the Association*, vol. iv, p. 254.

not material to the main question under discussion; but as it is well known that the Roman architects would never use bad materials, and did not regard distance and labour, it is very probable that the stone they employed for the walls was quarried afar off; while that used in the middle ages for restorations was chosen as being near at hand, and not costly from distant quarrying and cartage.

As for the two distinct kinds of lichens which we noticed on the two distinct kinds of stones, they were obvious to all. If they do not now appear (which I doubt), the cause may admit of easy explanation: probably they are more or less developed in different seasons.

The unlooked-for discoveries which have been made and are making, in the body of the Walls, lead to speculations on the date of this circumvallation; and on the cause of the interior conformation. The mediæval theorists are naturally perplexed (knowing nothing of many similar constructions), and seek shelter in supposing that the sculptures and inscribed stones were lying about exposed for so many centuries until the Jacobean masons used them! They do not allow themselves to consider that in this case they would have been much decayed and mutilated. Were this probable, it may be asked, how is it that not a scrap of Christian origin is to be found among the Pagan productions? This serious question is attempted to be answered by a very unfortunate argument for the mediæval character of the Walls. It is asserted with great confidence and positiveness that one of the slabs with figures of two Roman girls is decidedly mediæval; and that the figures are ecclesiastic! The glaringly erroneous notion has been subjected to meetings of the Archæological Association and the Society of Antiquaries of London to be unanimously condemned. This fragment of sculpture formed part of a sepulchral monument. One figure holds a mirror; the other, apparently, a small animal, meant probably to represent a pet cat or dog. The costume is provincial; as is that of almost all the representations of females and mythological personages discovered in this country; and also in Germany and France.

From recent researches it is now demonstrated that the walls of Deva were built in the internal lower courses with the remains of ancient monuments laid without mortar. In this they resemble the walls of very many Roman towns in France, Belgium, and Germany; and of one, at least, in our own country, that of the metropolis, London. I draw attention to the sculptures from the wall at Tower Hill; to those from the wall on the Thames side¹; and, recently, to those discovered in the wall and its bastions on the north side. They were all laid without mortar, while mortar was used in the superstructure and in the facing.

An interesting instance is afforded in the walls of Tours. At one of the ancient gateways may be seen the construction of the interior of a wall with sculptures and inscribed stones *in situ*. Both indicate a somewhat early time of execution. Not far from Tours is the *castrum* of Larçay. The walls are built upon materials which formerly belonged to important buildings.² Numbers of columns, sawn longitudinally, are used precisely as similar columns were used in the foundation of one of the buttresses to London Wall.

¹ *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 18 and pl. iii.

² *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv, pl. iv, p. 9.

At Sens nearly three hundred fragments of sculptures and inscriptions have been taken from the core of the town walls.¹ One is a dedication to Severus and Caracalla, giving a date in the last years of the second or early in the third century, and consequently showing that the walls must have been built at some later period.

Bordeaux has supplied me with highly interesting examples of Romano-Gaulish social life; and many remain in the Museum of that town, unpublished. Among those I have given are a girl holding a mirror, and another with a cat in her arms, both sepulchral. The walls of this town were found to have been built, like those of Chester, with fragments of sculptures of all kinds, taken from public buildings which had been violently overturned; and with sepulchral monuments. It was found that they had been laid in with some regard to their preservation for the future, and that the builders had evidently a respect for these mutilated memorials of the past history of Burdigala.

At Narbonne, until lately, hundreds of sculptures and inscriptions taken out of the Roman walls might have been seen built into the external facing of the walls erected, I believe, in the reign of Francis I.

Dijon, Beauvais, Evreux, Toulouse, and many more, might be mentioned as having had walls built in part with desecrated monuments, arranged without mortar, while mortar was freely used in the superstructure. At Saintes, at the present day, the walls are being pulled down, and they have revealed sculptured stones from public buildings and inscriptions. What the latter are we are yet to know; probably through M. Mowat and his valuable *Bulletin Epigraphique de la Gaule*. In short, the late M. de Caumont calculated that in full fifty of the Roman towns in France the walls were partly built with Roman monuments, like those of Chester, and corresponding also in having nothing *post* Roman.

M. Schuermans, in a paper entitled "Ramparts d'Arlon et Tongres", published in the *Bulletin des Commissions d'Art et Archéologie*, 1877, has treated this important subject more fully than any one. Instigated by the expressed suggestion and wish of M. de Caumont, that effective researches should be made to ascertain the dates and other facts connected with these walls, he has given the subject close and logical study. This study results in his assigning the epoch of the construction of these walls to the end of the third century. At present I can do no more than refer to my eminent colleague's paper. It deserves a translation which I hope we may be able to give.

Arlon (*Orolanum*), the capital of the Duchy of Luxembourg, occurs in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus as a *vicus*; but its remains show that it must have grown into a considerable town. Dalheim is another place in the same Duchy, which has produced an enormous quantity of antiquities, including some fine sculptures out of the walls.² Although the late M. Namur has published much respecting the discoveries, there is yet room for a review by such a man as M. Schuermans.

¹ *Catologue des Inscriptions de Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, par M. G. Julliot. Sens. For engravings see *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v, pls. xix and xx.

² *Publications de la Société pour la recherche et la conservation des Monuments Historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*, vol. vii, 1851.

NOTES ON THE CITY WALLS OF CHESTER.

HISTORICAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE.

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THE city of Chester, in many points of view, is one of the most interesting relics of antiquity to be found in England. In some respects it is unique. No other city has preserved its ancient walls in their continuity; and the rows, or arcades, with which the principal streets are lined, have, in their peculiarities of structure, no parallels elsewhere. It has also preserved intact a larger amount of ancient construction in its buildings than is possessed by any of our other cities. These circumstances have naturally attracted the notice of archæologists and antiquaries; and at the present day, when these inquiries are stimulated by the modern facilities of research, the subject has acquired an intensity of interest which it never had before.

Much has been written on the antiquities of Chester, and illustrations of them are abundant. Within the last few years, special attention has been drawn to the city walls in their history and structure. Differences of opinion have naturally arisen, even amongst those best qualified to judge. Whilst some parties can find in the present walls undoubted specimens of Roman construction, others are disposed to relegate them to the mediæval period, and, to a large extent, even to modern times. The visits of the Royal Archæological Institute in 1886, and of the British Archæological Association in 1887, led to a closer examination of the original structure and the present state of the walls. For this purpose, excavations were made, and trenches carried down to the foundations at several points in the circuit. The conclusions arrived at were not identical, and have given rise to a large amount of published correspondence. As President of the British Archæological Association, my

attention has naturally been drawn to the subject, and I have made such surveys on the spot as the opportunities afforded, and have pursued the inquiry into every source of information within my reach. I propose in the following pages to present the results of this examination.

I may state at the outset that I entered upon the inquiry without the slightest prejudice or prepossession. Whether the walls are Roman, mediæval, or modern, is to me a matter of entire indifference :

“*Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*”.

I am only desirous, so far as it may be possible, to elicit from the various means at our disposal the true aspect of the case.

I.—The existing histories and records, of which a large number are extant, first claim our attention. I suppose it will be agreed on all hands that the original foundation of the city is Roman. It is quite possible that in pre-Roman times a British fortification may have existed on the Castle Hill, and so have attracted the attention of the Roman invaders; but, so far as I am aware, no relic of that period has been found.

The fables of the old chroniclers, of the foundation of the city by the giant king Leon Gawer, and its name, Neomagus, need not occupy our attention. At the same time, the fabulous legend may contain an element of truth. The situation of Chester in former ages, and more especially in pre-historic times, must have been one of great importance. The estuary of the Dee, in its present state of gradual silting up, gives no idea of its pristine condition. The old coast-line, which is visible for some miles on both sides, demonstrates that its waters formerly occupied a much more extended area than at present. The site of the Castle formed a bluff promontory, round which the river swept in a broad flood, covering the Roodeye up to the foot of the present city wall, and immediately expanding into a tidal estuary. This point was a most important and commanding site, lying on the border-line of two powerful tribes—the Ordovices and the Cornavii. There can be little doubt that so advantageous a position was availed of by the

earliest inhabitants for protection and defence ; but the probability is that the defences were of a similar rude description to those found on many of the eminences in North Wales. The Roman invaders would naturally take possession of this stronghold. There is no evidence to show that the first two Roman generals, Aulus Plautius (A.D. 43-50) and Ostorius Scapula (A.D. 51-59), threw up any permanent fortifications here. Tacitus expressly says, speaking of Agricola, “*Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paullino (A.D. 59-61), diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit*”.¹

In A.D. 75, Cnæus Julius Agricola was sent to take the command. Tacitus proceeds : “*Sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu,..... loca castris ipse capere Quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et presidiiis castellisque circumdatæ, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars inaccessita transierit.*”²

Whether Agricola was the founder of Roman Chester or not, it seems certain that before the end of the first century the castrum had been laid out on the Roman plan. There is no city in England which bears such manifest tokens of Roman construction. The Roman armies never halted for a single night without forming a regular entrenchment, capable of receiving within its limits the whole body of troops with their baggage and implements. These were termed *castra*. The temporary entrenchments, when thrown up in suitable positions, naturally expanded into permanent fortifications, and developed into cities. Such was the case with Chester. The work of Polybius, which gives an elaborate description of castrametation, was written between the years 200 and 129 B.C. We have a modified descrip-

¹ *Vit. Agricol.*, ch. v : “He (Agricola) strengthened the earliest rudiments of fortifications made in Britain by Suetonius Paulinus, a diligent and moderate leader.”

² *Vit. Agricol.*, ch. xx : “When the summer arrived, the army being brought together, he (Agricola) began to choose sites for his *castra* ; by which means many communities which up to that time had dealt on equal terms, having given hostages, abated their wrath, and were surrounded with entrenchments and forts with so much foresight and care as had not previously been the case with any newly acquired territory in Britain.”

tion about two hundred and fifty years later, written by one Hyginus, in the time of Trajan. It is probable that the castrum of Chester was constructed principally on the lines of the earlier historian.

According to this, the plan was a square, in which the prætorium or tent of the prætor or consul occupied the central point, having two main streets crossing at right angles. The Via Prætoria, running from north to south, is represented by Northgate Street and Bridge Street, having the Porta Prætoria at one end, and the Porta Decumana at the other. The cross street from east to west, called the Via Principalis, is perpetuated in Eastgate and Watergate Streets, having a gate to each, respectively called Dexter and Sinister.

The alignment of the original wall on the west is not difficult to trace. If it ran along the line of Nicholas Street, it would be pretty nearly symmetrical when compared with the present wall on the east side. The north and south lines are open to discussion.

The present outline of the city walls does not form a square, but a rectangular oblong; neither do the lines of the two main avenues run in the centre of the walls in each direction. This has led to the conclusion drawn by Mr. Thompson Watkin, in his *Roman Cheshire*, that the original castrum occupied a much smaller area than the present city. There is much to be said in favour of this view. It might naturally be supposed that, as the city grew in population and importance, an extended area would be required, which was most easily obtainable on the west side, thereby altering the original symmetrical form of the plan. It is stated also that numerous interments have been found within the lines of the present walls, but outside of the supposed original limits. As intramural interments were strictly forbidden by the Roman law, this is held to confirm the inference from other sources.

Into the stronghold thus constructed there was introduced, as a garrison, the celebrated 20th Legion, which was complimented with the title Valens Victrix, and here it continued more than three hundred years, until the withdrawal of the Roman garrison. Hence we find that a large proportion of the altars, votive tablets, and

other sculptures, are inscribed with the name of this legion, or of officers connected with it.

The Deva and Devana of the Itineraries of Ptolemy and Antonine are usually identified with Chester; and the "Castrum Legionum" has been corrupted into the modern name.

During the Roman occupation of Britain, we have little or no information about Chester from contemporary sources. From the fragmentary relics which remain, the inferences derived from the advantages of its situation seem to be fully maintained. It was a flourishing commercial city, exporting from its wharves corn, cattle, cheese, horses, pearls from the Conway fisheries, and other native products, and importing various descriptions of manufactures. This maritime commerce necessarily required the accommodation of quays on the margin of the estuary, to which allusion will be made further on. Several divisions of the British territories were made by the Romans: by the Emperor Severus (A.D. 194-211) into Britannia Superior and Inferior; by Diocletian (284-304) into Maxima Cæsariensis and Flavia Cæsariensis. In all these changes Deva, or Chester, maintained its position as guarding one of the most important border-lines.

From the time of Agricola, nearly the end of the first century, to the advent of the Saxons, the history of Chester, so far as relates to contemporary documents, presents a complete blank, nor is the veil lifted until some time after their arrival. What little we know consists of inference and conjecture.

After flourishing for more than three hundred years under Roman dominion, the city must have become almost entirely Latinised in its buildings, mode of life, and, partially at least, in language.

The discoveries which have been made of Roman mosaics, pavements, hypocausts, fragments of columns, cornices, etc., the remains of buildings, and the wealth of sculptures, altars, and inscriptions, which have been unearthed, manifest a considerable amount of cultivation and refinement; and the relics of villa residences about the district show that the country was settled and peaceful.

After the departure of the Romans, about A.D. 420, Chester seems to have fallen under the power of the British King of Gwyneth, or North Wales.

Nearly two centuries had elapsed under this *régime* when a terrible reverse befell. Æthelfrith, the Saxon King of Northumbria, swooping down on the Deirian kingdom, broke through the barrier which had kept the invaders at bay, and inflicted a terrible vengeance on the district of Chester. The deciding battle was fought about twelve miles from the city—at Bangor Iscoed, on the Dee—and was immediately followed by the fall and destruction of Chester.

The contemporary Saxon chronicle sets forth, under the date of A.D. 607 :—

“Her Æthelfrið lædde his ferd to Lega-ceastre and thar ofsloh unrim Walena. Thar man sloh eac ec preosta, tha comon thyder thæt hi seoldan gebiddan for Walena here. Brocmail was gehaten heora ealdorman.”¹

The Venerable Bede (A.D. 673-735) relates the same fact in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

The city, thus sacked and destroyed, remained in ruins nearly three hundred years.

The Roman social life and institutions were exterminated. The Saxon conquerors shrank from being circumscribed within city walls. These were therefore probably broken down, and in many cases levelled with the ground, except in special instances, where the nature of the site or the needs of the settlers led to their being spared and adopted.

During the period between the sack by Æthelfrith in 607 and the reign of Alfred (872-901), we have no contemporary notices of Chester. The chroniclers from whom we obtain our information lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their information was obtained either from tradition, or from the records of the monasteries, most of which have perished. In the reign of Alfred the atmosphere becomes clearer, and the picture more distinct.

¹ This year Æthelfrith led his host to Lega-ceastre, and there slew unnumbered Welshmen. There were also slain two hundred priests who came there that they might pray for the Welsh army. Their leader was named Brocmail.

The irruptions of the Danes commenced at the end of the eighth century. About one hundred years afterwards they reached Mercia. Being bought off more than once, they effected settlements in Lancashire and Cheshire, but Chester was left untouched. After the struggles of Alfred, ending in the peace of Wedmore, the land had some rest. The daughter of Alfred, the wife of Ethelred the viceroy of Mercia, came prominently forward, and, after her husband's death, succeeded to his office. It is to her that the revival and rebuilding of the city of Chester is due. This part of the country was a prey to the conflicting attacks of the Danes on the one hand, and the Welsh or Britons on the other, and Chester was fortified to resist them both. We read in the Saxon chronicle that, in the year 894, the Danes in East Anglia made a forced march across the country day and night till they arrived at a western city in *Wirheal*, which is called *Lega-ceaster*. They could not storm the place, but beset the walls for two days, took all the cattle they could find, slew all the men they could overtake, plundered or destroyed the corn, and marched northward into Northumbria.

The notices of Chester and its sister city Caerleon, by the mediæval chroniclers, are numerous and interesting, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy. Giraldus Cambrensis, or Gerald de Barry, a Welsh ecclesiastic who flourished A.D. 1147-1220, has left a graphic picture of the latter city as he beheld it. He says:—

“*Urbs Legionum hæc authentica, ac per Romanos muris coctilibus circumdata, ubi multa adhuc pristinae nobilitatis apparent vestigia; palatia scilicet immensa, turris gigantea, thermæ insignes, templorum reliquiae, et loca theatralia, egregiis muris partim extantibus pene clausa, et tam intra quam extra murorum ambitum, ædificia subterranea, aquarum ductus, hypogæique meatus: stuphas quoque videas ibidem miro artificio consertas, lateribus quibusdam angustis spiraculi occulte calorem exhalantibus.*”¹

¹ “A genuine city of the Legions, surrounded by walls of brick (or tiles), in which many remains of its pristine grandeur are still apparent, namely, immense palaces, a gigantic tower, beautiful baths, remains of temples, and sites of theatres, almost entirely enclosed by excellent walls, in part remaining; also, both within and outside the circumference of the walls, subterranean constructions, water-courses, vaults with passages. You may also see furnaces (hypocausts) con-

This statement has been applied to Chester, but without foundation.

There were two cities of Roman origin with which Giraldus was familiar, one in Monmouthshire—now Caerleon—the other on the northern edge of the Principality—Chester. He calls both of them “*Urbs Legionum*”.

“*Castra Legionum*” was corrupted in the one case into *Caerleon*, in the other shortened into simple *Castra* = Chester. As there are no remains of the city walls at Caerleon, it is impossible to verify the statement as to the “*coctiles muri*”, or layers of tiles therein. In any case, the quotation bears out the splendour of the Roman remains even in the twelfth century.

It is evident from these statements that, notwithstanding the ruthless destruction by Æthelfrith in A.D. 607, many relics of Roman grandeur still subsisted. The most curious part of the record is that relating to the city walls, which he designates “*muris coctilibus*”. It is hardly possible to attach any other meaning to this than “brick walls”. The walls at Babylon are described by Ovid as “*coctiles muri*”, which we know were of brick. It is rather a hazardous guess, but it might be that the ecclesiastic, accustomed to the rough masonry of Wales, on seeing the regularly-coursed ashlar of the Roman work, hastily classed it with the coursed brickwork which he had seen elsewhere.

The next notice is that of Roger de Hoveden, who compiled his chronicle between A.D. 1148 and 1169. Under date A.D. 908, he says:—

“*Civitas quæ Karlegion Britannice, et Lega-ceastre dicitur Saxonice, jussu Ethelredi ducis et Ethelfledæ restaurata est.*”¹

“A.D. 980, quo etiam anno civitatis Legionum provincia à Norwegiensibus piratis devastatur.”²

A.D. 1094, an irruption of the Welsh :

“*Unde collecta multitudo et in Cestrensi et Scrobesbiriensi*

structed with wonderful art, the narrow sides of which exhale heat by concealed spiracles.”

¹ “The city, which is called Karlegion in British, and Lega-ceastre in Saxon, was restored by the orders of Ethelred, the governor, and Ethelfleda.”

² “A.D. 980, in which year the province of Karlegion was ravaged by the Norwegian pirates.”

provinciis, frequenter villas cremabant, prædas agebant, et multos ex Anglis et Normannis interficiebant.”¹

William of Malmsbury, who died in 1143, speaking of Ethelfrid, says :—

“Multa per eum prælia inchoata provide et consummata egregie testis Legionum civitas, quæ nunc *Cestraz* vocatur, quæque ad id temporis à Britannis possessa, contumacis in regem populi alebat superbiam, ad cujus oppugnationem cum intendisset animum, oppidani qui omnia perpeti quam obsidionem mallent, simul et numero confisi, effuse in bellum ruunt, quos ille insidiis exceptos fudit, fugavitque, prius in Monachos debacchatus, qui pro salutis supplicaturi frequentes convenerant. Quorum incredibilem nostram atate numerum fuisse indicie sunt in vicino cœnobio tot semiruti parietes ecclesiarum, tot infractus porticum, tanta rudera quantum vix alibi cernas.”²

Of Ethelfleda and her reparations, he says :—

“Virgo potentissima, multum fratrem consiliis juvare, in urbi-bus extruendis non minus valere.”

“A.D. 924. Rex Edwardus post multa et in bello et in toga nobiliter consummata, paucis ante obitum diebus, urbem Legionum fiducia Britonum rebellantem à contumacia compescuit.”³

Matthew Paris (1235-1259), under date A.D. 909, writes as follows :—

“Civitas Legecestriensis quæ Danorum incursione destructa fue-

¹ “Whence a force being assembled from the districts of Cheshire and Shropshire, they frequently set fire to the towns, carried away plunder, and slew many both of the English and Normans.”

² “Many wars were carefully undertaken by him, and brilliantly carried out, as witness the city of the Legions, now called Chester, at that time possessed by the Britons, which encouraged the pride of the contumacious people against the King; and when he had set his mind on attacking them, the citizens, who preferred to endure anything rather than a siege, at once, relying on their numbers, boldly rushed into war; when, having caught them by an ambush, he utterly routed and put them to flight, having first vented his rage on the monks who had gathered in large numbers to pray for success. Of the incredible number of these there are indications in our own time in the neighbouring convent, where such half-ruined churches, so many broken-down porticoes, such an accumulation of rubbish, you will scarcely see elsewhere.”

³ “A noble woman, most able to help her brother in his counsels, and not less powerful in building up cities.”

“King Edward, after much nobly accomplished both in war and peace, not long before his death put down the contumacious rebellion of the city of the Legions revolting from the fealty of the Britons.”

rat, sollicitudine Ethelredi ducis Merciorum et Elfredæ uxoris ejus restaurata est."

"A.D. 1256. Walenses non considerantes vel formidantes Edwardi vel familie ejus tyrannidem, usque ad Cestriam omnia obstantia diripientes, hostiliter pervenerunt."¹

Ralph Higden, who was a monk of St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester, and lived from 1299 to 1363, left a voluminous *Polychronicon*. His knowledge of Chester, from his long residence there, may reasonably be considered accurate. He thus speaks of it:—

"Urbs quidem in confinio Angliæ ad prospectum Cambriæ inter duo marina brachia Dee et Mercee situata; quæ tempore Britonum caput fuit et metropolis Venedotiæ, id est Norwalliæ; ejus fundator ignoratur. Nam intuenti fundamenta lapidum enormium videntur; potius Romano seu giganteo labore, quam Britannico sudore fundata extitisse In hac urbe per Northumbros et Danos vicissim conquassata, sed tandem per Elfredum Merciorum dominum egregie reparata et adaucta, sunt viæ subterraneæ lapideo opere mirabiliter testudinatæ; triclinia concamerata, insculpti lapides pergrandes antiquorum nomina præferentes Hæc est urbs quam rex Ethelfridus contrivit, occidens juxta eam duo pene milia monachorum Bangorensis Monasterii. Hæc est inquam, urbs ad quam venit aliquando Rex Edgarus cum septem subregulis, in ejus urbis laudem metricus quidam sic prorupit:

.....
 'In muris pendent lapides velut Herculis actus,
 Agger ut angetur tutior ut maneat.
 Saxula Saxonica superextant addita magnis,
 Concava testudo bina latet sub humo.'

"Elfreda soror regis Edwardi urbes multas condidit et reparavit quæ sunt."²

¹ "The city of Lege-chester, which had been destroyed by the incursion of the Danes, was restored by the care of Ethelred, the Duke of the Mercians, and his wife.

"A.D. 1256. The Welsh, not considering or fearing the tyrannical rule either of Edward or his family, breaking through all obstacles, advanced in arms to Chester."

² "A certain city on the border of England, looking towards Wales, situated between two arms of the sea, the Dee and the Mersey, which in the time of the Britons was the head and metropolis of Venedotia, that is, North Wales, the founder of which is unknown. To the inspector there are visible foundations of enormous stones which seem to have been placed there rather by the labour of the Romans, or of giants, than by the efforts of the Britons.

"In this city, shattered in turn by the Northumbrians and Danes, but now at length excellently repaired and extended by Ethelred, Lord of the Mercians, there are subterranean ways marvellously vaulted,

Matthew of Westminster, who wrote his chronicle in the early part of the fourteenth century, speaking of Chester under date A.D. 896, relates the sufferings of the Danes after their defeat by Alfred's army at Buttington, and proceeds :—

“Qui ex hac clade evadere potuerunt, fugiendo ad Legecestriam quæ Anglice *Wirhale* dicitur pervenerunt. Ubi in quodam municipio ex concivibus suis plurimos reperientes, in eorum consortium sunt admissi, quo rex cum pervenisset, non potuit ibi obsidionem tenere, unde omnia quæ extra oppidum in frugibus sive victualibus reperit igne concremavit.”¹

It would appear that many of the heathen Danes settled in Chester, for we are told that, in 947, King Edmund wrested it out of their hands.

In 973, King Edgar brought all his fleet to Chester. The Roodeye must therefore, at that time, have been a navigable estuary.

In 1069, William the Conqueror, after putting down the resistance in the western shires, strengthened the fortifications of Chester.

In 1140 and 1180, the greater part of the city was destroyed by fire.

In 1264, William de la Zouche, the justiciary, and the citizens of Chester, fearing that the city was about to be besieged by the barons or the Welsh, at the instigation of a certain Robert Mercer, sub-sheriff of the city, pulled

banqueting rooms arched over, sculptured stones bearing from old times the names of the ancients. This is the city which King Ethelfrith laid in ruins, slaying in the neighbourhood nearly two thousand of the monks of Bangor Monastery. This, I say, is the city to which at one time King Edgar came attended by seven petty princes, in respect to which a certain versifier of the city broke forth into verse :

“In these walls hang stones like the work of Hercules
That the rampart may be extended and remain safer.
The Saxon smaller masonry stands above,
The double concave vaulting lies hid under the soil.”

“Ethelfleda, the sister of King Edward, built and repaired many cities which remain.”

¹ “Those who were able to escape from the slaughter by flight came to Legechester, which is called in English *Wirhale* ; where, finding in a certain municipality many of their fellow countrymen, they were admitted into their company, whereby, when the King arrived, he was not able to maintain the siege, therefore he destroyed by fire everything in the shape of crops or victuals which he could find outside the city.”

down the buildings of St. Werburgh's Abbey, and, rooting up the gardens, began to excavate a fosse, promising the abbot that King Edward would restore to the Church an equal value in land.

In 1265, Chester, being in the hands of Simon de Montfort and the barons, sustained a siege of ten weeks by the royal forces, which were repulsed; but after the disastrous battle of Evesham it was given up to the King.

In 1278, nearly all the city within the walls was destroyed by fire.

In 1307, a grant of murage was made for the reparation and amendment of the walls.

In 1322, the New Tower was built, at the cost of the city, by John Helpstone, mason, who received £100 for the work.

In 1450, 28th Henry VI, the city is represented as being then so decayed and depopulated by reason of the choking of its harbour by sand, and the consequences of the late rebellion in Wales, that the citizens were unable to pay their rent to the Crown.

In 1569, the walls between the Watergate and the New Tower were repaired.

In 1608, the same portion of the walls was again repaired, but was so badly done that in the following year it fell down.

In 1643, the city was put into a state of defence, and a number of outworks and entrenchments added.

In 1645, during the siege, considerable breaches were made in the walls, about Morgan's Mount.

In 1648, the fortifications were put into complete repair by the Parliament.

In 1745, for the last time, preparations were made for defence in case of a siege. The Watergate, Northgate, and sallyports were walled up, and several buildings adjoining the walls were pulled down.

The only other incident connected with the history of the walls is the removal of the ancient gates, which took place at different periods at the end of the last century and in the early period of the present.

II.—The above extracts present a synopsis of the aspect of the walls at different periods, and of the

changes which have taken place in them. I now proceed to give a general view of their present condition, and in this I am much aided by the excavations made at different points at the time of the visit of the British Archæological Association, in August 1887, and since considerably extended.

(1.) The first trench examined was cut outside the wall at the Kale Yards, about fifty yards north of the east end of the Cathedral, near the Postern Gate. The wall above ground is a patchwork of various ages and styles. (See Plates Nos. 1 and 5.) Starting from a buttress (No. 3), and going southwards, there is a length of 37 feet 9 inches of rubble-work, when we arrive at a vertical irregular joint. From thence there is a length of coursed ashlar, much decayed, rising from a chamfered plinth at the ground level, which is here, on the summit of a sloping bank, about 6 feet in perpendicular height. At the end of this length we come to another vertical joint, beyond which the wall for some distance southwards is ashlar, in irregular courses. Here we find a mass of solid masonry outside of the line of the present wall. A trench was carried down about 12 feet below the bank surface. Commencing at the bottom, there are two layers of boulders below the wall, then three courses of rubble, and one of solid masonry, measuring 3 feet 10 inches in height. The solid masonry mainly consists of large blocks well squared, and bedded without mortar. Then comes a set-off, receding 8 inches. The solid wall again commences, carried up 9 feet 8 inches, in courses of the same character as those in the work below. One stone measured 5 feet in length, 1 foot in height, and 2 feet 4 inches bed.

The masonry just described stands about 6 feet 9 inches in advance of the general alignment of the wall above, and terminates at the ground level. The exact length could not be ascertained, as it dies into the bank at its southern extremity, but it is clearly visible for about twenty yards, and shows itself very prominently.

It might be thought that this formed the base of a projecting bastion on the wall, but this could not be, as the length is too great, and the projection too slight, and it is not returned or tied into the wall.

Two trenches were sunk to the foundations of the upper wall, which are about three feet below the bank. The wall stands on loose fragments of the lower wall, mixed with earth and rubbish. There is a thin plinth with chamfered edge, and for some distance there run several courses of well-squared stones, which appear to have been taken from the lower wall.

The conclusions which suggest themselves I will enter upon hereafter.

(2.) The north wall near the Phoenix Tower. (Plates 2, 3, and 5.)

The wall hereabout stands on the summit of a steep bank sloping to the canal. At the foot of the slope, the rock has been scarped down perpendicularly. Near this place a breach was made in the wall at the time of the siege in 1644, and only imperfectly made good. It was recently found necessary to execute extensive repairs, the breach work having fallen into decay.

In doing so a remarkable and interesting discovery was made. The wall east and west of the breach was found to consist in a great measure of moulded and sculptured stones, cornices, architraves, fragments of pilasters and columns, along with sculptured bas-reliefs and votive tablets, many of these latter bearing inscriptions. These were built into the upper part of the wall very rudely, not bedded, but to a great extent filled in indiscriminately—in this respect differing materially from the lower part of the wall described below.

Here a trench was sunk to the bottom of the wall. Commencing from below, as before, we find, at the depth of 9 feet 2 inches from the ground surface, a massive wall 2 feet 10 inches high, in three courses. Then comes a chamfered plinth, 10 inches high. Thence follows a wall of solid ashlar, 5 feet 6 inches high, in five courses, having a batter of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which brings us up to the ground level. Above this is an ashlar wall, 10 feet 11 inches high, in twelve courses, rolled in with a curve at the top, which is 6 feet 8 inches below the top of the parapet wall.

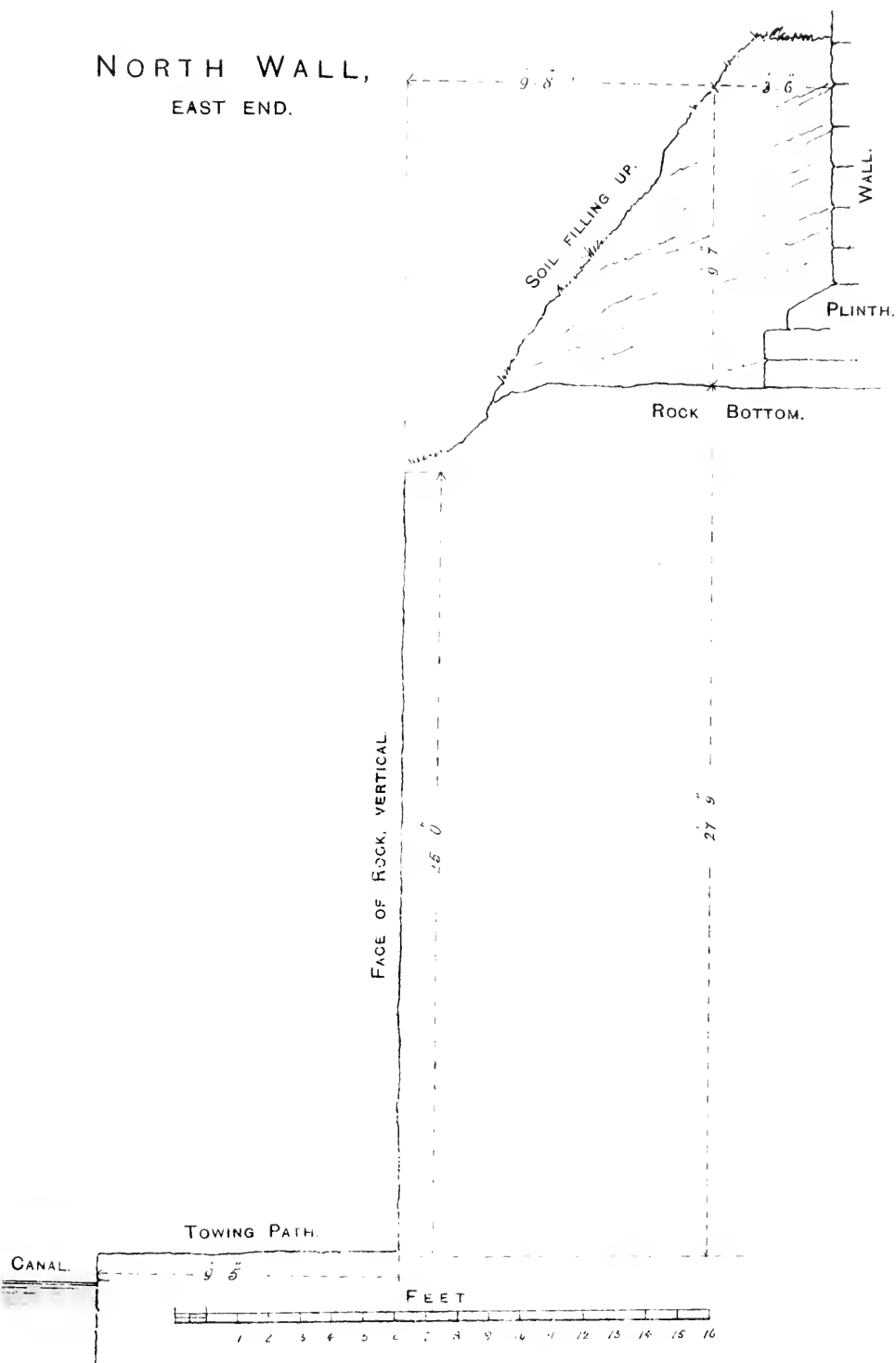
On breaking through this ashlar wall, which is 9 feet thick at the base, it is found in the lower part principally composed of fragments, as above stated, faced with



PART OF NORTH WALL AND PHOENIX TOWER.



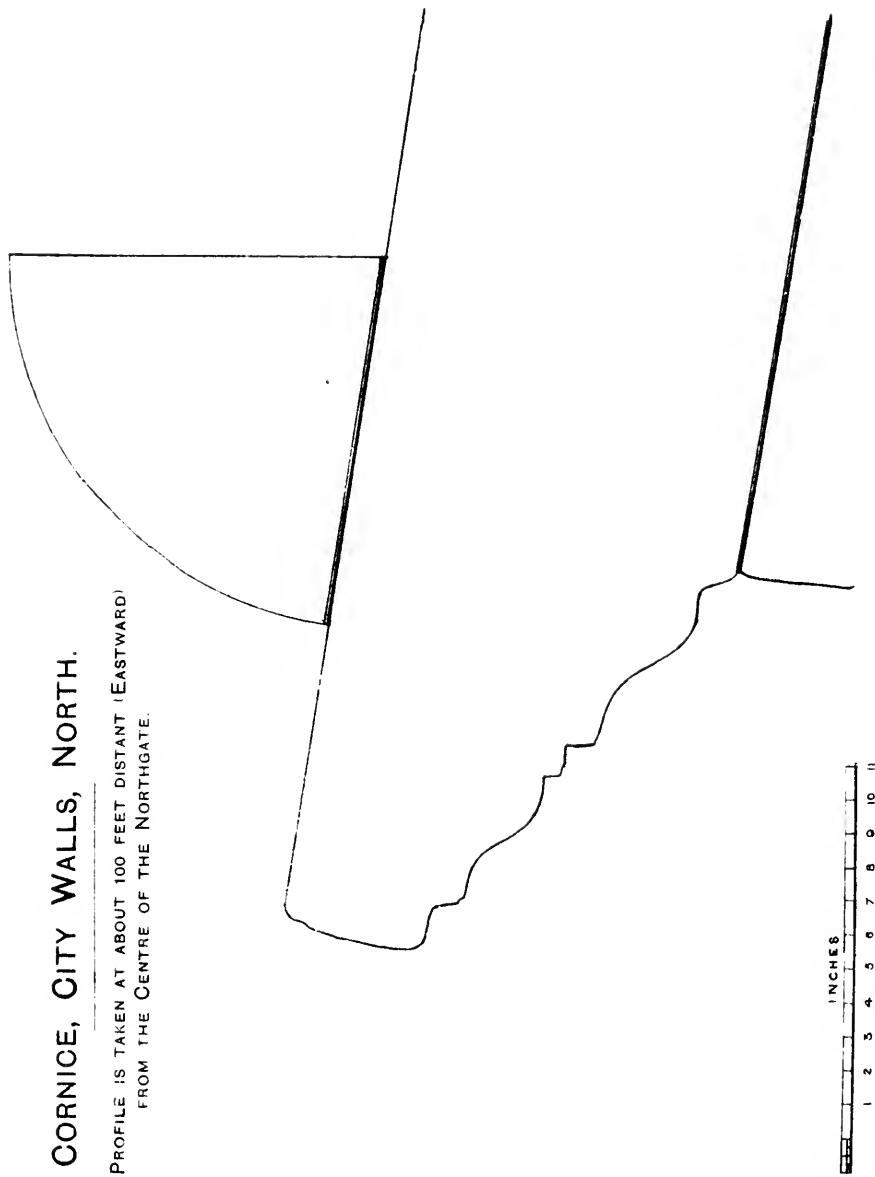
NORTH WALL, EAST END.





CORNICE, CITY WALLS, NORTH.

THIS PROFILE IS TAKEN AT ABOUT 100 FEET DISTANT (EASTWARD)
FROM THE CENTRE OF THE NORTHGATE.



solid squared stones set without mortar; but, from the ground level up to about 5 feet below the summit, the squared stones only extend partly through the wall, and are left zigzag, the backing being made out with rough rubble set in mortar, with another facing at the back.

(3.) Following the north wall westward, along the line of the canal, we find it based on the scarped perpendicular rock, and visible from top to bottom. (Plate 3.) This wall, for the most part, is built with solid squared stones, without mortar, similar to the work described above, below the ground-level. Along this line runs a moulded cornice or stringcourse (Plate 4), now much frayed in the projecting part, but, it is stated, in some places still retaining a portion of its original mouldings. The deep gully or ravine in which the canal runs was originally the fosse of the city. The situation of the wall in this position—it being to a great extent a retaining wall—has prevented its being meddled with in mediæval times, since there could be no object to gain by disturbing it. It is therefore a fair inference that we have here the original construction.

Continuing along the north wall westward, beyond the Northgate, we arrive at Mr. Hughes' timber-yard, which, with the carriage-works beyond, extends a considerable distance along the outside of the wall. We find here the same description of masonry as that in the lower part of the walls already described—a chamfered plinth to start from; ashlar, in regular courses of large squared stones, without mortar, up to the ground-line; and mediæval work, with occasional modern repairs and additions, above. The face of the wall outside, now to a great extent masked by sheds built up against it, is much decayed, and superficially patched with brickwork; but sufficient remains to show its original construction.

The inside face of this wall had formerly a row of cottages abutting upon it, since removed. It was found on their removal that the city wall was honeycombed with dilapidations, made for cupboards, closets, and in some cases actual chambers, within the thickness of the wall. A large portion of this wall has been recently entirely re-faced.

The same description will apply to the continuation of

the wall westward, finishing, so far as can be seen, at Pemberton's Parlour. Of the projecting wall terminating at the Water Tower I will speak hereafter.

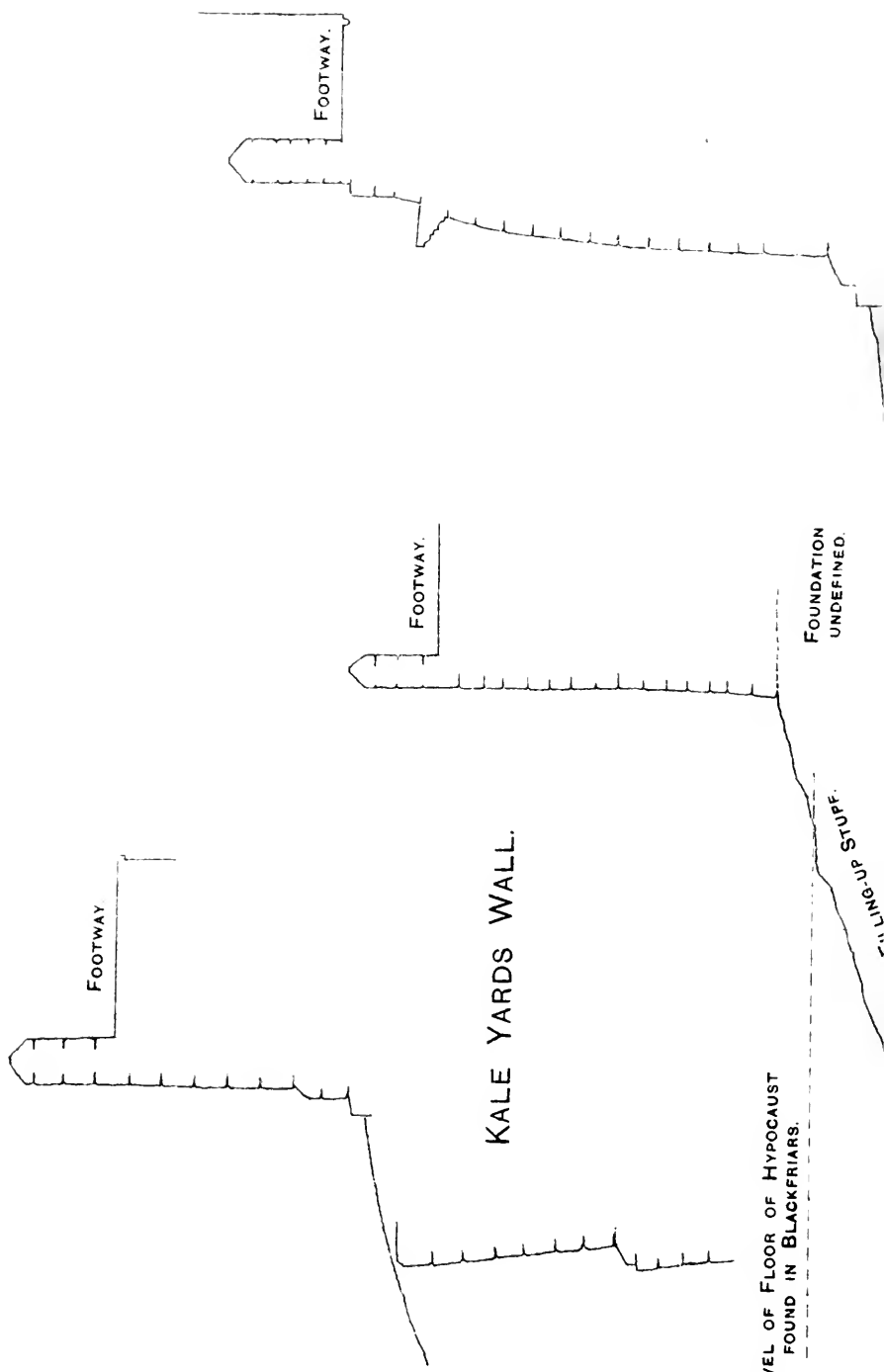
The west wall, along the margin of the Roodeye, offers no special point for remark until we pass the Grand Stand on the lower level. The wall is built in a straight line on the edge of the friable cliff. In great part it is a retaining wall, shored up at unequal intervals by stone buttresses. The work appears to be of various ages, and is of poor quality.

South of the Grand Stand there is much of interest and food for inquiry.

Here there has existed from time immemorial a layer of large stones, on a cursory glance seeming to have been simply deposited on the surface. The general opinion, confirmed by the inspection of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1886, has been that the stones were placed here to prevent, by their weight, any landslip from the bank above, which here rises high and steep. To determine this, a trench was sunk, and it was found that the supposed loose stones were the upper courses of a massive wall. (Plates 5 and 6.) At the depth of about 10 feet below the outer surface of the land, the further progress of excavating was stopped by the influx of water. The back of this wall could not be reached without a very extensive excavation; but its massiveness will be evident from the following particulars:—

A little below the water-line occurs a set-back of 4 inches. Above this rises a wall of squared stones, 7 feet 9 inches high, in seven courses. These stones are set without mortar, but in a few of the vertical joints a pointing was found of a cement in which traces of pounded tile were discovered. Then occurs another set-back of 2 feet 5 inches, and a wall 1 foot 10 inches high in two courses; then a further set-back of 1 foot, and an ashlar wall 6 feet 6 inches high in five courses. This is the summit, and from the outer face of the masonry the actual city wall sets back 17 feet. This projecting masonry extends from north to south 134 feet, but is partially covered by an earthen bank. The appearances here present the same problem as that propounded at the Kale Yards. Has this mass of masonry any





FOOTWAY.

FOOTWAY.

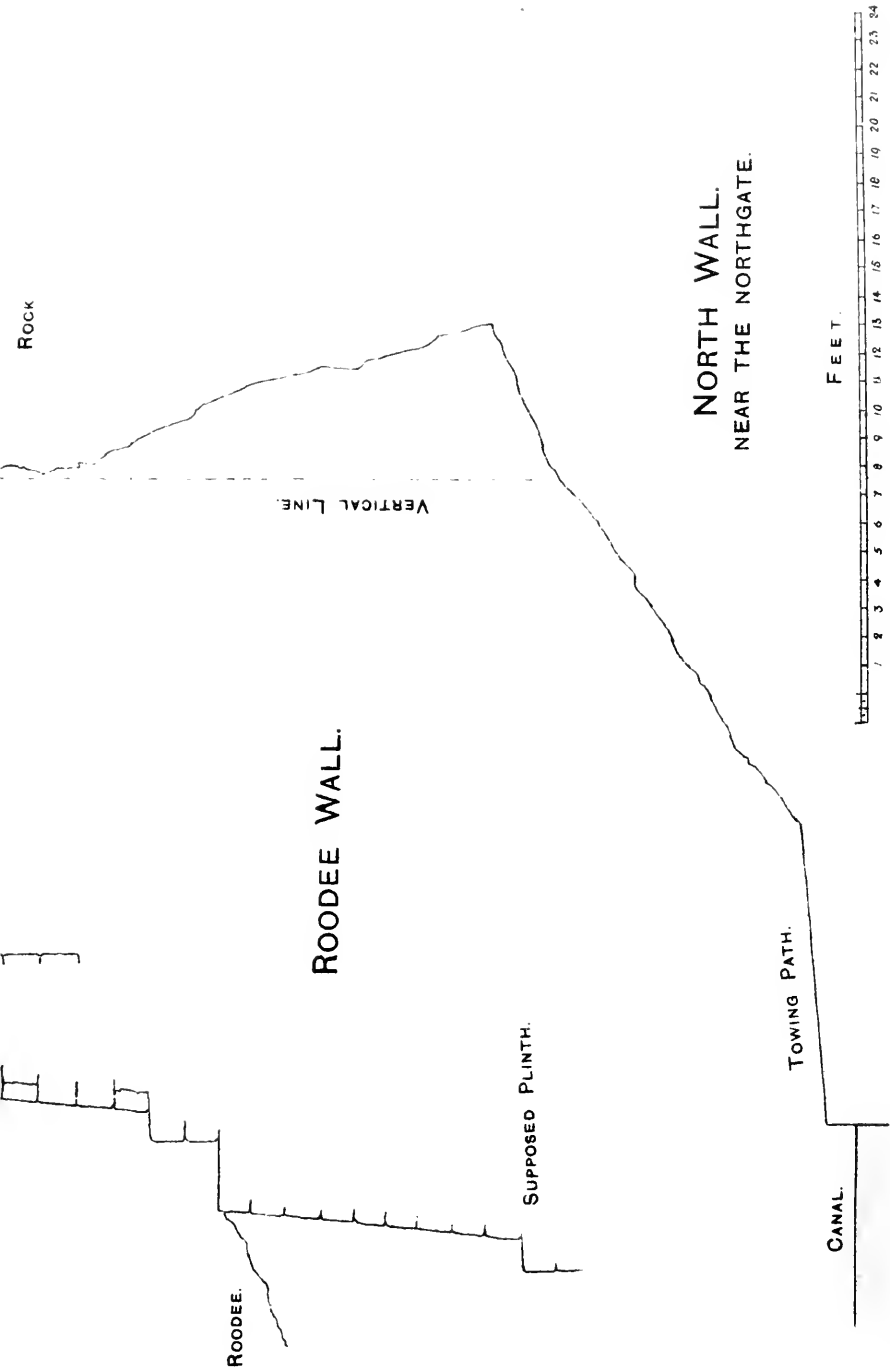
FOOTWAY

KALE YARDS WALL.

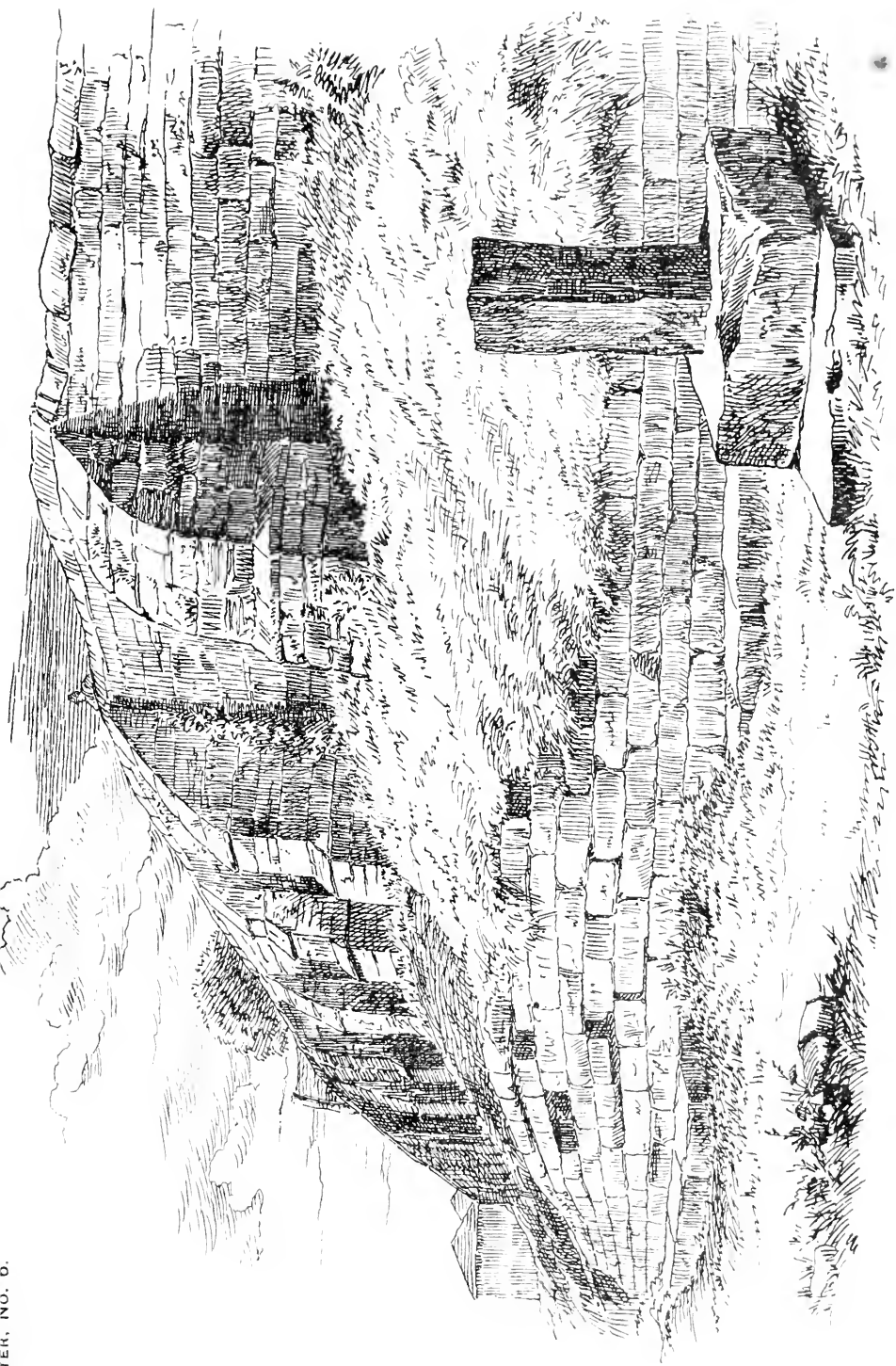
FOUNDATION
UNDEFINED.

CLING-UP STUPE.

LEVEL OF FLOOR OF HYPOCAUST
FOUND IN BLACKFRIARS.







MASONRY—ROODEYE.



connection with the city walls? and to what period may its erection be attributed?

There is no connection between this masonry and the upper wall which stands on the edge of the cliff above. This wall scarcely goes below the surface, and stands on a bank of loose earth. There are a number of massive buttresses, a few of which are bonded into the wall, but the majority are simply built up against it without any ties. The whole of this wall, in its original state, was very poor, both in material and workmanship. A great part has been rebuilt in modern times.

Going eastward from the Bridge Gate on the outside of the wall, along the river bank, we find a portion of the masonry, about twenty yards in length, strongly resembling that in the north wall near the North Gate. There is the similar chamfered plinth, the same well-squared ashlar, and a cornice or stringcourse above, which does not occur elsewhere.

The examination and survey described above was made with the co-operation of Mr. Matthews Jones, the city surveyor, who has charge of the walls and their repairs, and who is familiar with every portion of them from continual official observation. Our survey occupied three days of close attention. The statements have been verified by Mr. Jones; but for the conclusions and results as stated below I am alone responsible.

III.—We have now to consider what conclusions we can reasonably draw from the historical notices of the walls, and the survey of their present condition. In an inquiry like the present, dogmatism would be entirely misplaced. Positive assurance is out of the question. The utmost we can expect is strong probability; but probability, when it is the result of several lines of evidence converging on one point, is the nearest approach to certainty which human affairs will admit of.

It is accepted, I believe, on all hands, that the present city of Chester is of Roman origin, and that its circumvallation was originally Roman work. The small tableland on which it stands was admirably adapted for the Roman method of fortification. Protected on the south and west sides by the river, at the point where it

merged into the estuary, and defended on the north by a narrow deep gulley—afterwards the fosse—the eastern side presented the only face easily approached by a hostile force.

Mr. Thompson Watkin, in his *Roman Cheshire*, has some pertinent remarks on the original foundation. He supposes it to have been a square of 1,200 feet on each side, with the Prætorium in the centre, at the point now occupied by the High Cross and St. Peter's Church. This would leave the eastern side the only remaining line of the first Roman camp. Whoever was the general at the time, whether Ostorius Scapula or Suetonius Paulinus, there can be no doubt that in the first instance the circumvallation consisted of what Cæsar calls an "Agger ac Vallum", a fosse 9 to 13 feet wide and 7 to 12 feet deep, the earth thrown up to form a bank or wall inside. This was the usual course wherever the Romans encamped. That the original castrum was thus constructed is confirmed by the fact that no relics of any masonry have been discovered on the lines so laid down.

Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, under date of 75 A.D., states that the general, "ubi æstas advenit, contracto exercitu, loca castris ipse capere."¹ And again, "Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit."²

The date of these extended and improved walls in stone cannot be exactly determined, but it is probable they were completed before the end of the first century.

The area of the city was now considerably extended. The northern wall was probably carried to the edge of the ravine or fosse. On the south, the city was carried to the bank of the river. On the west side the boundary was probably the line of Nicholas and Linen Hall Streets; but no foundations of walls have been found.

So the city continued in a prosperous course for about 350 years, until its ruthless destruction by Ethelfrith, A.D. 607. What we have to consider is, to what extent is it probable that any of the Roman work is extant?

¹ "When the summer arrived, collecting his army together, he began to lay hold of sites for his fortresses."

² "The first foundations of the *castra* by Suetonius Paulinus, a diligent and prudent ruler, he strengthened."

We must remember that twelve hundred and eighty years have elapsed since the Saxon ravages, and nearly a thousand since the restoration by Ethelfleda. Supposing the walls had been left intact, the effects of time and weather, and the continual interference by successive generations, with their varying wants and requirements, and the necessary repairs from time to time, must have destroyed to a great extent the identity of the original construction. Not so, however, with the work below the surface. Here the masonry, protected from the destructive influences of frost and weather, if not intentionally interfered with, would last for an indefinite period in a sound condition. To assert broadly, as Mr. Thompson Watkin has done, "that the wall is not Roman *in situ* in any portion", is a positive statement which it would require very strong evidence to prove. He speaks of the sculptured and moulded stones extracted from the walls: "All these stones were in excellent preservation, owing to their having been first buried for ages, and, when dug up, used almost immediately to repair the wall, whilst their faces, being turned inwards, would perpetuate the freshness." This is, no doubt, true, but it would equally apply to any other part of the work below the surface.

Those who have had experience in taking down buildings for public improvements, or for any other cause where the site is not required to be excavated, well know that it is very unusual to dig up the foundations of walls. It is not worth while, and would not pay, to dig down twelve or fifteen feet to pull up at great labour a mass of brick or stone which would be worthless when obtained. Where the Roman alignment has not been disturbed, we may therefore reasonably expect to find below the surface a large portion of the original work *in situ*.

We may further inquire, what was the extent of the ravages by Ethelfrith, in A.D. 607? and what was the nature of the reparation by Ethelfleda in the early part of the tenth century?

The supposed destruction of the walls by the Saxons is merely an inference. It is not warranted by any thing recorded.



That the destruction was ruthless and sanguinary there can be no doubt. It may compare with the sack of Anderida (now Pevensey) in A.D. 490, by Ella, when not a single Briton was left alive. The interior was utterly destroyed, but the walls and towers remain to the present day in all their massive strength. So it was, probably, the case at Chester, but not to the same extent. Giraldus Cambrensis, writing less than three hundred years after the restoration, describes it as surrounded by excellent walls, with many remains of its original grandeur—palaces, baths, towers, temples, etc.

Higden (1299-1363), who was an inhabitant of Chester, describes in glowing terms the Roman banqueting-rooms, vaults, sculptures, and other remains, especially mentioning the large stones in the walls.

The credit is due to Ethelred and Ethelfleda of rendering the city again habitable, after a desolation of above 300 years; but we must not suppose that any great works were undertaken. The notices in the chronicles are in very general terms; Matthew Paris simply says that "the city of Lege-Chester, destroyed by the *Danes*, was restored by the care of Ethelred and his wife".

William of Malmsbury says Ethelfleda was "most able in helping her brother in his counsels, and not less powerful in building up cities".

Roger de Hoveden records that "the city which is called Karlegion in British speech, and Lega-ceastre in Saxon, was restored by the command of Ethelred and Elfleda". No particulars are given.

Under date of the eighth year of Edward the elder, A.D. 909, Higden states:—

"Hac anno Civitas Caerlegioun sive Legecestria, quæ modo Cestria dicitur, ope Ethelredi ducis Merciorum et Elfledæ uxoris suæ, post confectiones per Danos factas, restaurata est, et novis muris circumdata, et pæne ad duplum quod prius ampliata, ita ut Castrum quod ab olim ibidem extra muros civitatis juxta aquam positum fuerat, nunc intra muros urbis situetur."¹

¹ "This year the city of Caerlegion, or Legacestria, which is now called Chester, was, by the assistance of Ethelred, Governor of Mercia, and his wife Elfleda, after the destruction by the Danes, restored and surrounded with new walls, and enlarged to nearly double its previous extent, so that the castle, which beforetime was situated outside the town walls, near the water's edge, became now included within the walls of the city."

The Saxons at that time were incapable of large building undertakings. Down to the middle of the seventh century, we have no record of any stone building erected by them, and their masonry of a later period is of a very rude description. The nature of Ethelfleda's work is explained by a passage from Higden's *Polychronicon*: "Saxula Saxonica superextant addita magnis". "The small stones of the Saxon masonry are superimposed over the large"; indicating that the walls were patched and raised upon the Roman foundations.

The general line of the walls exposed on both sides would be liable to injury from various causes—natural decay with the lapse of time, hostile attacks from without, and interference from within. Their appearance at the present time presents a motley variety of workmanship and material of all ages, much of it of a very poor description. It is probable that to a considerable extent the same materials have been used over and over again during the eighteen centuries of their existence. Some antiquarian experts have professed to verify the Roman stones interspersed in the walls by their peculiar tool-marks. This may be the case, but I confess myself unable to follow them with any degree of certainty. Many of the large squared stones in the work at the Roodeye and the Kale Yards have on the face their pick and tool-marks in herring-bone fashion, which have been identified with Roman work elsewhere. If there be any remains of Roman work at all, it is natural to look for it in the structures below the surface, and in masonry built against a bank not easy of access, and with only one face exposed.

IV.—I now come to the comparison of the existing work, especially that portion brought to light by the recent excavations, with the information derived from the records and histories.

We will start from the Kale Yards as before. I have described above the construction and section of this wall, which consists vertically of two portions; the lower one 6 feet 9 inches in advance of the upper (Plates 1 and 5), and carried down 12 feet below the surface, consisting of solid masonry well squared, without mortar, in courses about 1 foot high, with large stones. This lower part must have been built before the upper; since, if the

wall above or the bank had been first built, it is difficult to conceive any motive or object in sinking another wall outside without any superstructure. It may be asked, assuming this to be the case, what explanation can be given for receding the upper portion? I think a passage from the annals, quoted from King's *Vale Royal*, will go far to supply the information.

Under date of A.D. 1264, when the contention between King Henry III and the barons was at its height, it is recorded that William de la Zouche, the justiciary, and the citizens of Chester, fearing a siege from either the barons or the Welsh, instigated by a certain Robert Mercer, the sub-sheriff of the city—on whom the chronicler pronounces his malediction—destroyed a number of houses and rooted up the gardens belonging to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, at a place called Baggelone, now the Kale Yards, and began to dig a fosse, intended to go round the city, the said justiciary and one David ap Griffith faithfully promising that the King would restore to the church of St. Werburgh lands of equal value elsewhere. It would seem that a commencement was made. The old wall on the lower level was taken down, and a new wall built on the bank above, preparatory to sinking the fosse; but immediately afterwards, the younger Simon de Montfort, the leader of the barons, attacked the city, and received the submission of the citizens. The work appears to have been abandoned, and the succeeding troubles prevented its being resumed until it was almost forgotten, and has since remained a mere fragment of antiquity. Now, as the ambit of the original walls was undoubtedly Roman, and this deeply-founded masonry corresponds in all respects with the Roman “saxaquadrata”, I think we cannot be wrong in attributing it to the Roman period.

(2) The second trench, one of the most interesting of the series, was sunk outside the north wall, near the Phoenix Tower, where a breach was made at the time of the siege in 1644. (Plates 2, 4, and 5.) This has been described above. The wall here is based on the solid rock, which, within about 12 feet outwards, is scarped down perpendicularly 25 feet to the towing-path of the canal. About 3 yards in height, above the rock, a sloping bank of earth covers the base of the wall. The wall here, as

at the Kale Yards, below the ground, about 9 feet thick, is built with solid ashlar with a slight batter inwards. Above this, the wall, 11 feet high, is composite; the outer skin is squared ashlar, the stones only reaching partly through the wall, and left with a toothing or zigzag; the rest is rough rubble with an inner facing. It is here that the bulk of the moulded and sculptured stones were found. They seem to have been thrown in promiscuously, without any order or attempt at bedding. The variety of them I have mentioned above.

Now, it is to be observed that these are all Roman fragments, of debased classical design. Not a single mediæval moulding has been found amongst them. The sculptured tablets and bas-reliefs are acknowledged on all hands to be Roman, with one single exception of a draped figure, or rather two figures, one dressed in a garment pronounced by some to be mediæval and ecclesiastical. I do not think that this need cause much hesitation or doubt. Putting aside the style of the workmanship, and the correspondence in the fold thrown over the arm with other specimens about which there is no dispute, I would merely make two observations. First, that supposing it to be an ecclesiastical garment, it by no means follows that it is mediæval. Christianity was the prevailing religion in Britain long before the departure of the Romans. Tertullian, writing A.D. 209, says, that "even those places in Britain hitherto inaccessible to the Roman arms, have been subdued by the gospel of Christ". The sculpture may therefore be Romano-Christian in its origin.

Again, the ecclesiastical dress of the middle ages had a Roman origin. The *stole* of the priest was a copy of the flowing *stola* of the Romans, usually worn by the Roman matrons, but occasionally, as we know from Horace, worn by men.¹

The general appearance of the work above the ashlar indicates haste and want of skill. The original wall seems to have been broken down by violence, and hurriedly repaired by any material at hand.

If we suppose, as seems evident from the fragments, that buildings existed in the immediate neighbourhood

¹ "Velatumque *stola* mea cum conferbuit ira." (*Sat. I*, 2-71.)

in a dilapidated state, nothing could be more natural than to use up the material in making good the walls.¹ Very probably this took place at the time of the renovation by Ethelred and Elfleda. The work corresponds exactly with the description given in the *Polychronicon* of the "Saxula Saxonica"—the small Saxon work above the heavier Roman masonry.

(3) Proceeding westwards, the ground rises and the gully deepens until near the Northgate; the base of the wall is 30 feet above the towing-path of the canal, and stands near the edge of the perpendicular rock. (Plate 5.) This wall is built with well-squared ashlar in courses 12 inches to 15 inches in depth, without mortar, crowned with the cornice already mentioned. The natural conclusion from all the appearances is, that this is the original wall. Being only exposed on one side, there could be no object served by interfering with it, besides its being a task attended with difficulty and danger. The masonry corresponds very closely with the work below the surface in the excavations, as already referred to. The upper portion above the cornice is work of a later date. The inference is very strong that this portion of the wall is of Roman workmanship.

(4) Crossing the Northgate, and going westward, we find the wall masked outside for a considerable distance by low sheds. The masonry here does not appear to go much beneath the surface. There is the same chamfered plinth and coursed ashlar in the lower part, but the wall above is much decayed and patched.

No special date can be assigned to this portion of the walls. Some observers have professed to find Roman masonry in detached fragments, but on the whole it is a mixture of the work of many successive ages, without any distinctive features.

(5) Arriving at the north-west angle of the walls, several very interesting problems present themselves for solution. The first object which attracts attention is the Water Tower, formerly called the New Tower,

¹ Thucydides, in his account of the rebuilding of the walls of Athens after the Persian invasion, refers to circumstances very similar. He says: "The walls were built in haste, and completed in a very short time, with all manner of stones; not reworked, but inserted just as they came to hand, many columns and sculptured stones being made use of."

which projects forward with its fortified curtain-wall a considerable distance in advance. We naturally ask, when and why was this wall and tower erected, and what purpose was it designed to serve?

The annals inform us that in the year 1322 the New Tower was built, at the cost of the city, by John Helpstone, mason, at the cost of £100, as by indenture appeareth.

There can be no doubt that at the time of its erection the tower projected into the water. The large iron rings let into the stonework could have no other use but that of securing or mooring vessels. In Hollar's view of the city, given in King's *Vale Royal*, published in 1656, the tower is shown as standing in the water, with ships of some size and boats, both sailing and anchored.

Now why was this tower and its wall built? It could not be for any commercial object, since there is no access to it on the side of the water. No other purpose can be conceived except that of defence and protection. The only way in which this could be effected would be by its standing out to prevent any flank movement from turning the north-west angle, and attacking the western line along the estuary in front. It was a *barbican*, or *antemural*, which is thus defined in ancient charters: "*antemurali*, qui dicitur, *barbacana*, qui est murus brevis ante murum."

If there had been a wall at that time running along the margin of the estuary, there would have been no need of this flank protection any more than on the remaining three sides of the city. We must remember that in the time of the Romans, and during centuries afterwards, as is manifest by the old coast-line, which runs many miles round, the Roodeye was an open sea where large ships could ride. The Roman cities under these circumstances never built walls along their sea or river fronts. Richborough and Pevensey, with massive defences on the three land sides, left the sea fronts open. London, in early Roman times, though fortified on the three landward sides, was open to the river, and had no wall on that side until the building of the bridge required protection. Rome itself, during the long lapse of ages, never built any walls along the banks of the Tiber.

It may, I think, fairly be inferred that in Roman times, and for a long period afterwards, there was no wall along the bank of the estuary, now the Roodeye.

But it may be said, what about the great mass of masonry on the lower level of the Roodeye, about which there has been such an amount of controversy? How is this to be accounted for if there was no wall along the bank? I believe it will be found that, thoroughly examined, this circumstance strengthens the argument.

Messrs. Watkin and Shrubsole have drawn attention to the fact that there is evidence of the former existence of a creek or inlet, which debouched into the estuary about the north end of the line of this masonry, and was about 119 yards wide at its mouth, with a considerable depth of water.

On consulting the map of 1653, given in King's *Vale Royal*, we find a platform laid down on this spot, measuring by scale 200 paces, with returns at each end. This can still be traced for 134 feet, beyond which it is covered with soil and buildings. In Hollar's view, this platform is shown as a raised terrace.

Chester in the time of the Romans was a prosperous commercial port, having a considerable export and import trade. This, of course, would require a wharf or landing-place—*emporium* it was then called. Assuming, as we know was the case, that the Roodeye was a large expanse of water constituting the harbour, with a creek or inlet opening from it, the angle where the two met would naturally be the point where the emporium would be placed. This is the very spot occupied by the remains in question. If we compare Rome and London in this respect, we find strong confirmation. The emporium or wharf at Rome was a very similar platform, extending along the bank of the Tiber at the foot of Mount Aventine, not protected by any wall on the side of the river, at a point where a small stream debouched from the valley.

Early Roman London had two similar wharves, one at Dowgate, at the outfall of the Wallbrook, the other at Billingsgate, both entirely open and unprotected.

I think, with these facts before us, we are fully justified in the conclusion that fifteen hundred years

ago, and down to a period not very remote, Chester had here a noble harbour, and on the spot now under consideration every facility for commerce by sea.

Domesday Book gives us some information as to the condition of the city at the end of the eleventh century.

The trade of the port had considerably fallen off. In the time of King Edward the Confessor there had been 487 houses rateable in the city, reduced to 282 at the time of the record. At the earlier period, the Customs dues were farmed for forty-five pounds a year and three timbres of marten skins. This was reduced to thirty pounds, owing to the great depression; but trade subsequently revived, and the fee-farm rent produced, at the time of Domesday, £70 and a mark of gold, equal to about £1,100 in modern currency. This trade, considerable for the time, must have had a wharf, and there was no other locality where it could be placed. Sheltered by the castle at the south-west angle, and flanked by the creek at the other end, with deep water in front, it offered every facility for the purpose. When this became useless, owing to the continued recession of the water, another smaller wharf was built at the edge of the new channel; and, finally, in the middle of the last century, the present wharves and cranes were erected lower down the stream.

The western wall has yet to be accounted for. We have no means of ascertaining its exact date, but we can find a tolerable approximation.

Down to the time of Ethelfleda's restoration the castle was isolated, partly by the stream above mentioned, and partly by its rocky site absolutely breasting the water. From the rock eastward some fortification must always have existed for the protection of the bridge or ford.

A continuous wall along the western side could not have existed in the early period, owing to the interception of the creek, which, we are told, at its mouth was 119 yards wide. A wall with such a gap in the middle would have been useless, and, with the protection of the sea-border, altogether unnecessary. When the castle was brought within the city, and the creek filled up in whole or in part, the circumstances were altogether changed. The continual and increasing recession of the

water, leaving a broad margin between the cliff and the sea, alarmed the citizens for their security. In 1322, as we have seen, they built the Water Tower to prevent being outflanked; but the silting of the harbour still going forward, they required stronger measures.

At the end of the fourteenth century the Roodeye had become in part dry land, for we find a record that in the year 1401 an award was made that "no tithe should be paid to the parson of Trinity Parish in Chester for the Roodes-Eye", it being reclaimed land.

The fifteenth century was a period of bloody strife throughout England, and Chester suffered, whichever of the rival roses happened to be in the ascendant, being alternately occupied by the Lancastrians and Yorkists, besides having to defend itself from repeated attacks by the insurgent Welsh.

The lowest point of depression was reached by the city about the middle of the fifteenth century. In an inquisition taken in the 28th year of Henry VI (A.D. 1450), the city of Chester is represented as "being then become so decayed and depopulated by reason of the choaking of its harbour by sands, and the consequences of the late rebellion in Wales, that the citizens were unable to pay their rents to the Crown".

Under these circumstances, the western boundary, left unprotected by the retirement of the water, required attention, and to this period it is highly probable that the western wall may be attributed. It was certainly not in existence when the New Tower was built in 1322. The first notice of it occurs in 1569, when we read: "This year the sheriffs did fight one with another, and were therefore fined in £10 towards the repairing of a piece of the walls that was fallen down between the New Tower and the Watergate."

The wall seems to have been badly built, for we read, "in 1608 a great part of the walls between the Watergate and the New Tower were repaired".

In 1609, "the walls that were repaired the last year fell down this year in the month of November".

In 1642 the city was placed in a state of defence, with mud walls, mount and bastions outside. These extended from the western end of the north wall round the north-eastern suburb, terminating on the bank of

the Dee at Boughton; but it does not appear that the city walls were in any way interfered with.

I have now arrived at the close of my observations and remarks. The general conclusion may be summed up in few words. There are considerable remains of Roman work in the walls below the surface on three sides of the city. Above ground the ascertained Roman portion is limited to the wall near the Northgate, to a small part in the south wall east of the Bridgegate, and to the masses of masonry outside of the walls in the Kale Yards and the Roodeye.

These portions of the walls, which, from other lines of argument, I have pronounced to be Roman, are distinguished by the superior quality of the stone employed. The new red sandstone in the immediate neighbourhood, though abundant in quantity, is friable, and easily disintegrated, as is evident from the rapid decay of the mediæval churches and other buildings, and of a large portion of the walls. The masses of masonry on the lower level at the Kale Yards, and on the Roodeye, have remained exposed to the weather for many ages without the slightest decay, the tool-marks remaining perfect. They appear to have been brought from the strata at Manley, on the edge of Delamere Forest, about six miles and a half from Chester.

The west wall is, in its origin, fifteenth century work, badly built, going scarcely below the surface, without footings. It has been largely rebuilt and refaced at subsequent periods. The buttresses are mostly of later date than the wall. The greater part of the remaining walls above the ground are a mixture of all ages during a thousand years, becoming by repeated repairs more and more modern in their structure. Notwithstanding this, their general character imparts a flavour of antiquity and a reminiscence of Old England which is nowhere else found to the same extent. Long may they remain carefully preserved to hand down to distant ages the memories of times gone by, and to form a link in the historical chain which unites the present with the past.

N.B.—Of the Plates accompanying these Notes, Nos. 2 and 6 have, by the kindness of Mr. C. Roach Smith, been taken from his *Collectanea Antiqua*.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF FONTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read 1 June 1887.)

It is proposed, in the present paper, to examine critically the evidence at our disposal for determining the age of early fonts in this country, with the special view of deciding the question of the possible existence of fonts of pre-Norman date. The chief points by which the age of a font may be fixed are—(1), the style of the lettering of the inscription, when there is one, and the names and dates mentioned in it; (2), the character of the ornamental features; (3), the art of the figure-sculpture; and (4), the peculiarities of the architectural details. Each of these will be considered separately.

Inscribed Fonts.—The most satisfactory proof of the antiquity of a font is obtained when it bears a contemporary inscription giving the date of its erection. Although, after the Reformation, the practice of cutting a date upon a font was not uncommon, instances earlier than the sixteenth century are of the utmost rarity;¹ only one, at Kirton in Lincolnshire (A.D. 1405), being known to F. A. Paley, the author of the work on fonts.

Failing such direct evidence as is derived from an actual date carved upon a font, we must endeavour to ascertain the age by means of the names mentioned in the inscriptions, or the palæographical peculiarities of the lettering. The inscriptions on fonts may be divided into three classes,—(1), those giving the name of the maker or donor; (2), those of a religious character, generally having reference to the sacrament of baptism; and (3), those descriptive of the subjects of the figure-sculpture.

The oldest inscribed fonts belonging to the first class are at Bridekirk in Cumberland, Little Billing in North-

¹ Dated fonts exist at St. Mary's, Beverley (1530); Walsoken, Norfolk (1544); Ellesmere, Shropshire (1569); Whixhall Chapel, Shropshire (1608); Probus, Cornwall (1661); Sandal Magna, Yorkshire (1662); Cumwhitton, Cumberland (1662), and elsewhere.

amptonshire, and Patrishow in Brecknockshire. The inscription on the font at Bridekirk is in Runes, and reads as follows :¹

RIKARTH HE ME IWROKTE

& TO THIS MERTHE GERNR ME BROKTE

the translation being

“Richard he me wrought,
And to this beauty carefully me brought.”

Prof. Stephens says that the letters show “a strange intermixture of old northern and Scandinavian and old English staves and bind-Runes. The dialect is also mixed,—early North English with a touch of Scandinavian. The words are in rhymed verse.” He also suggests that the Richard mentioned may have been the architect of that name who was master of the works to Bishop Pudsey during the improvements at Norham Castle A.D. 1150-70. The name is, however, so common that without further confirmation we should hardly be justified in accepting this conclusion.

The font is rectangular, measuring 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., and is 2 ft. 10 in. high, including the base, which is 11 in. high. All four sides are elaborately sculptured. On the face with the inscription, Richard is represented at work carving the foliage. The subjects on the other sides are the baptism of Christ; a dragon with two heads; a scene showing a woman at the foot of a tree, and two other figures, the meaning of which has not yet been explained; and a centaur strangling two monsters.² The character of the sculpture corresponds with that of the Norman period, and there can be little doubt that the work is of the twelfth century.

At Bingley, in Yorkshire, there is a stone which appears to have been originally used as a font.³ It had at one

¹ The inscription has been read by the Rev. D. H. Haigh (*Archæologia Æliana*, vol. i, New Series, p. 182), and by Prof. Stephens (*Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 160). I have myself copied the inscription on the spot, and can testify to the correctness of the reading.

² The best illustration of the font at Bridekirk will be found in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.

³ The stone has four sides, but is not quite square. It measures 2 ft. 6 in. across by 1 ft. 3 in. high, and is hollowed out to a depth of 10 in. There is a drain for letting out the water.

time a Runic inscription, in three lines, on the face, but the carving is so worn that the reading is purely conjectural. The remaining three sides bear traces of interlaced work. Professor Stephens¹ thinks he can detect the name of King Eadbert of Northumbria in the inscription, and therefore dates it as early as A.D. 737-57. The presence of interlaced work and general appearance of the whole justify us in assuming it to belong to the pre-Norman period.

The inscription upon the font at Little Billing² is in Latin capitals similar to those on the seal of William the Conqueror, and reads as follows :

WIGBERHTUS ARTIFEX ATQ: CEMENTARIUS HUNC FABRICAVIT
QUISQUIS SUUM VENIT MERGERE CORPUS PROCL DUBIO CAPIT

The translation being, "Wigberhtus, the artificer and stonemason, made this [font]. Whosoever cometh hither to dip his body, takes [the rite] without doubt."

The inscription gives us the name of the maker of the font, concluding with a pious invocation having reference to the rite of baptism. Wigberhtus³ has not, as far as I am aware, been identified with any historical personage. Little Billing is described in *Domesday Book* as belonging to the Comte de Moretain, but existence of a church is not mentioned.

The forms of the letters resemble more nearly those used in Saxon times than the ones of the twelfth century. The o is of the diamond shape, as on the coins of Offa, King of Mercia (A.D. 757 to 796), on the dedication stone at Jarrow, co. Durham (A.D. 685), and on the Saxon sun-dial at Kirkdale, in Yorkshire (A.D. 1064).⁴ The s is formed like a z, a peculiarity found in many Saxon inscriptions, as on stones in the York Museum, at Hackness, in Yorkshire, Hartlepool, co. Durham, and elsewhere.⁵ The c is square, like those on the Saxon

¹ *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 137.

² Pacey's *Baptismal Fonts*, and Baker's *Northamptonshire*, vol. i, p. 30.

³ In the portion of *Domesday Book* relating to Northamptonshire (xxvi, 9), one named Wibertus is mentioned as holding land under Robert de Toden at Ascele or Ashley.

⁴ Hübner's *Inscr. Brit. Christ.*, Nos. 180, 198.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nos. 176, 178, 182, 183, and 188.



BOWL OF FONT AT PATRISHOW, BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

tombstone of Frithburga at Whitechurch, in Hampshire. The *g* is also square, as on the Saxon ivory seal of Godwin and Godgytha in the British Museum. The *q* is made like the letter *p* turned the wrong way.

The font at Little Billing is cylindrical in shape, 2 ft. 4 in. in diameter, and 3 ft. 2 in. high. The workmanship is rude, and the only attempt at architectural embellishment consists of a moulding not unlike those on the Saxon stone balusters at St. Alban's Abbey, Jarrow, and elsewhere.

From the palæographical and other evidence which has been adduced, I should be inclined to claim this font as being either of pre-Norman date, or at all events as not later than the end of the eleventh century.

The font at Patrishow¹ is inscribed in rudely-formed letters of irregular size, chiefly Anglo-Saxon minuscules, as follows: "Menhir me fecit i(n) te(m)pore genillin"; the translation being—"Menhir made me in the time Genillin." Prof. Westwood identifies the Genillin here mentioned with Genyllin Voel, Lord of Ystradwy and Prince of Powis in the middle of the eleventh century. The church of Patrishow was consecrated by Herwald, Bishop of Llandaff (*circa* A.D. 1060), under the name of Methur Issur, a corruption of Merthyr Ishaw, or St. Ishaw the Martyr.²

The font is cylindrical, and undercut below. It measures 2 ft. 10 in. in diameter. The inscription runs round the top, which has also some floriated ornament upon it. The rest is quite plain.

If we accept the identification of Genillin with the Prince of Powis of the same name, this font must be ascribed to the middle of the eleventh century.

Later fonts with inscriptions mentioning proper names exist at the following places:—

At Keysoe, in Bedfordshire, is an Early English font inscribed in Norman French:

✠ TRESTUI KE PAR HICI PASSERUI
PUR LE ALME WAREL PRIEV

¹ Westwood's *Lapidarium Wallie*, p. 71, and pl. xl.

² The woodcut of the font at Patrishow is here reproduced from the *Archæologia Cambrensis* by permission of the Committee of the Cambrian Archæological Association.

KE DEV PAR SA GRACE

VERREY MERCI LI FACE—AM

“Pause whoever passes by this spot and pray for the soul of Warel, that God by his grace may grant him true mercy. Amen.”

At Shelfhanger, in Norfolk, is a Decorated font with the coat-of-arms and initials A. B. of Adam Bosville, patron of the living, A.D. 1362.

At Burgate and Walsoken, in Norfolk, and St. Mary's, Beverley, in Yorkshire, are fonts with inscriptions in black letter giving the names of the donors.

Having examined all the inscriptions the dates of which can be determined by means of the proper names mentioned in them, we next come to those of a religious or descriptive character, the only clue to whose antiquity is the palæographical peculiarities of the lettering. The most ancient inscription of this class is on the font at Potterne,¹ in Wiltshire, which was examined by many of the members of the British Archæological Association during the Devizes Congress in 1880. The inscription is in Latin capitals as follows:—

✠ SICUT CERVUS DESIDERAT AD FONTES AQUARUM
ITA DESIDERAT ANIMA MEA AD TE DS. AMEN

being the text from the Vulgate version of the Psalms (xlii, 1): “As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God.” Three of the letters are of forms similar to those used in Saxon times, namely, the s made like a z, the square c, and the d made like an o with a tail at the top facing to the left.

The old font at Potterne was discovered in the year 1872, buried four feet below the present one. It is of oolite, and both shaped like a tub and made like one, the bottom being a separate stone fixed in with lead. The dimensions are as follows: Diameter of outside at top, 2 ft. 11 in.; Ditto at bottom, 2 ft. 5 in.; Height outside, 2 ft. 2½ in.; Diameter of inside at top, 2 ft. 2 in.; Depth inside, 1 ft. 3 in. The inscription is on a pro-

¹ Engraved in the Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society Sketch-Book for 1876, pl. 25, and in the Wiltshire Archæological Society's *Proceedings*.

jecting rim running round the top. There is no ornament of any kind on the font. The evidence afforded by the peculiarities of the lettering of the inscription and the general appearance of the whole will, I think, justify us in attributing this work to the end of the eleventh century.

There is a font at Lullington,¹ Somersetshire, inscribed—

HOC FONTIS SACRO PEREUNT DELICTA LAVACRO

“By this sacred washing of the font my sins perish.”

And one at Adderley,² in Shropshire, inscribed—

HIC MALE PRIMUS HOMO

FRUITUR CUM CONJUGE POMO

“Here wickedly the first man enjoys the apple with his wife.” In both these cases the shape of the letters and the ornamental features show that they are works of the twelfth century.³

Examples of fonts with inscriptions descriptive of the subjects of the figure-sculpture are not at all common, and those with which I am acquainted belong to the Norman period. The following have come under my notice. At Hook Norton, Oxfordshire, a font with the names of Sagittarius, Adam, and Eve inscribed. At Stonleigh, Warwickshire, a font with the names of the Twelve Apostles inscribed. At Stanton Fitzwarren, Somersetshire, a font with the names of the Virtues and Vices inscribed. At Bakewell, in Derbyshire, a fragment of an old font with the name of St. Mark inscribed. At Brookland, in Kent, a leaden font with the names of the signs of the Zodiac and of the months inscribed.

Fonts with Celtic and Saxon Forms of Ornament.—

Archæologists have long recognised that many churches in England present certain architectural peculiarities, which are not to be found in buildings of the twelfth

¹ *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society*, vol. for 1851, p. 86; also figured in Billing's *Architectural Antiquities*.

² Eyton's *Shropshire*, vol. x, p. 6, and Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. No. 21, 236, vol. ii.

³ Later fonts with inscriptions of a religious nature exist at Bradley, Lincolnshire; Nuffield, Oxfordshire; Parham, Sussex; Landewednack, Cornwall; St. Nicholas, Rochester; and other places.

century or any subsequent period, and are therefore assumed to be of Saxon origin. I do not think, however, that sufficient attention has been paid to the study of the purely ornamental, as distinguished from the architectural, features of the ecclesiastical structures of pre-Norman date. There is ample evidence that the characteristic forms of Hiberno-Saxon ornament—such as interlaced work, key-patterns, and spirals—were not only used in the illumination of the MSS., but were also applied to the decoration of sepulchral monuments and the beautifying of the churches of the period. At Britford¹ and at Bradford-on-Avon,² in Wiltshire, are examples of the jambs of the chancel-arches being faced with flat slabs of Saxon sculpture. The doorways at Monkwearmouth, co. Durham, and at Ledsham, in Yorkshire, and the abacus of the chancel-arch at Hackness, in Yorkshire, are decorated with carving similar in design to the illuminations of the Hiberno-Saxon MSS.

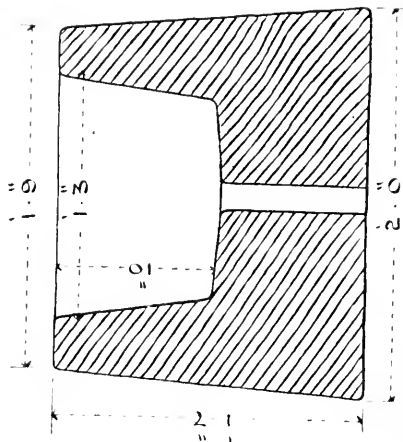
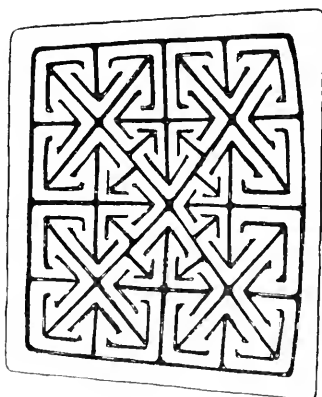
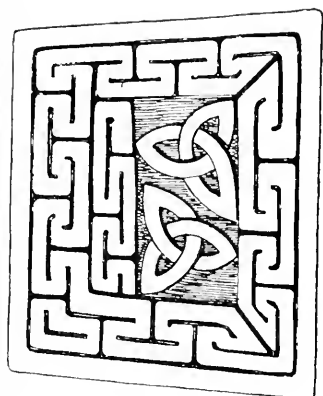
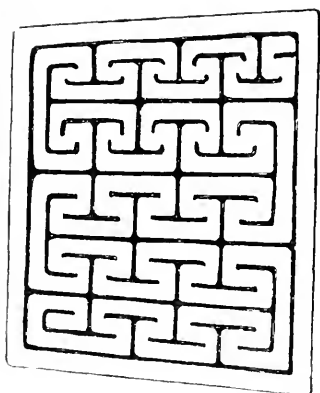
We are at present, however, concerned only with the question of whether any fonts exist exhibiting pre-Norman types of ornament. At Penmon, in Anglesey, there is a square font measuring 2 ft. wide at the bottom and 1 ft. 9½ in. wide at the top, by 1 ft. 7 in. high. The cavity inside is 1 ft. 3 in. wide by 10 in. deep. The sculpture on one of the four faces is entirely defaced, but the remaining three are covered with key-patterns. The character of the ornament corresponds with that of the Hiberno-Saxon MSS., and it is therefore possible that this font may be as old as the eleventh century. It must, however, be noticed that the tympanum of the Norman round-headed doorway at Penmon has interlaced work upon it, so that early forms of ornament appear to have survived in the twelfth century.

The font in the Saxon church at Deerhurst,³ in Gloucestershire, is cylindrical, and covered with spiral orna-

¹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxxii, p. 496.

² *Ibid.*, xxxiii, p. 215.

³ See the Rev. G. Butterworth's *Deerhurst*, p. 71, and Mr. A. E. Hudd's paper in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. xi.



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FONT AT PENMON, ANGLESEY.



mentation like that on the Celtic sculptured stones. Round the top and bottom runs a narrow band of foliage. The font is supported on a stem decorated with spiral ornament of the same kind as that on the bowl. The dimensions are as follows: Diameter of bowl outside, 2 ft. 5 in.; Depth of bowl outside, 1 ft. 8 in.; Diameter of bowl inside, 2 ft.; Depth of bowl inside, 1 ft. 1 in.; Height of stem, 1 ft. 9½ in.; Diameter of stem, 2 ft. 1 in. There seems little reason to doubt that the font at Deerhurst is coeval with the church, the age of which is fixed by its dedication stone (A.D. 1053).¹ A font of similar shape to the one at Deerhurst, with interlaced work upon it, exists at Edgmund,² in Shropshire. Bowl-shaped fonts with interlaced work round the stems are to be found at Eardisley,³ in Herefordshire, and Chaddesley Corbett,⁴ in Worcestershire. The font at Bucknell,⁵ in Shropshire, has a band of key pattern running round the bowl. Other examples of fonts with ornament of early character exist at South Hayling,⁶ Hampshire; at Llan Jestyn,⁷ Anglesey; at Sidbury⁸ and Lilleshall,⁹ in Shropshire; and at St. Martin's, Canterbury.

Early Fonts with Figure-Sculpture.—With regard to fonts decorated with figure-sculpture, I do not know of any instance where the style of the art can be said to indicate a pre-Norman date. At all events, the fluttering drapery which is so characteristic of the miniatures in the Saxon MSS. is not reproduced in the sculpture on the fonts. The practice of carving the design with incised outlines on a flat surface, instead of making the figures stand out in relief, is often a sign of early date, and a few instances occur on fonts, as at Tissington¹⁰ and Mellor,¹¹ in Derbyshire.

¹ Rickman's *Gothic Architecture*.

² Eyton's *Shropshire*, vol. ix, p. 126.

³ Mr. Albert Way's collection of fonts in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

⁴ Rickman's *Gothic Architecture*, p. 147.

⁵ Eyton's *Shropshire*, vol. ii, p. 320.

⁶ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlii, p. 66.

⁷ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Inst.*, vol. i, p. 126.

⁸ Eyton's *Shropshire*, vol. iii, p. 61.

⁹ *Ibid.*, viii, p. 228.

¹⁰ *Reliquary*, vol. i, New Series, p. 24.

¹¹ Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. ii, p. 221.

The Architectural Features of Early Fonts.—The most primitive type of font consists of a cubical or cylindrical block of stone hollowed out in the inside to receive the water required for the rite of baptism, and placed on a base or step without any intermediate stem. In the more highly developed forms the bowl was made either cubical, cylindrical, or hemispherical, and supported on one or more columns with bases and other enrichments corresponding in style with the architecture of the period. I do not know of any instance where a font exhibits architectural features such as mouldings which in any way resemble those found in Saxon buildings. One of the most common kind of architectural decoration on Norman fonts is arcading, either consisting of plain or intersecting arches. The use of arcading in architecture was most common in the twelfth century, but that it was known previously is proved by the ornamentation of illuminated canons in the early MSS., which are usually placed under arches.¹ The Saxon church of Bradford-on-Avon,² in Wiltshire, also has arcading round the exterior of the chancel. Upon fonts, the columns supporting the arches in most cases have cushion capitals; and it is very doubtful if any of the arcaded fonts are of the pre-Norman period. What appears to me as a very early example of arcading is to be seen on the font at Kirkby,³ near Liverpool. The mouldings on Norman fonts generally consist either of a roll or cable moulding running round the top of the bowl. The mouldings on the font at Little Billing, in Northamptonshire, already described, are not unlike those on the Saxon turned balusters.

Fonds made from Roman and Saxon Materials.—In some places fonts exist having considerable claim to antiquity, being made of stones taken from Roman and Saxon buildings probably occupying the same site. As examples of this we have at Kenchester, in Herefordshire, and Wroxeter, in Shropshire, fonts made out of Roman columns; at Staunton, in Herefordshire, and Haydon,

¹ See Westwood's *Miniatures of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS.*

² *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxxii, p. 495.

³ *Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. vi, p. 85.

in Northumberland, fonts made out of Roman altars; and at Wilne,¹ in Derbyshire, a font made out of a Saxon cylindrical pillar-cross. In most of these cases there is no evidence to show at what time the materials taken from an older building were utilised, and therefore we get no clue by this means as to the date.

The general conclusion to be derived from the foregoing investigation is that, although a certain number of fonts present peculiarities in the lettering of their inscriptions and in the character of their ornament, which belong rather to the Saxon than the Norman period, no satisfactory evidence has yet been brought forward to prove the antiquity of any font in Great Britain to be greater than about the middle of the eleventh century.² The following fonts appear to be the oldest which are at present known, and may be attributed either to the end of the eleventh century or quite the beginning of the twelfth: On account of the identification of a name mentioned in the inscription, the font at Patrishow, in Brecknockshire; on account of the palæographical peculiarities of the inscription, the fonts at Little Billing, Northamptonshire, and at Potterne, in Wiltshire; on account of the character of the ornamental features, the fonts at Penmon in Anglesey, at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, and at Edgmund and Bucknell in Shropshire.

Should there be other fonts of early date which are as yet unknown, I hope members of this Association will endeavour to bring them to light. I would also suggest that in describing fonts in papers read before archaeological societies such terms as "very curious", "most ancient", and so on, should be avoided, and the reasons given instead to show why the font is remarkable, and upon what facts its supposed antiquity is based.

¹ *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*.

² Unless, perhaps, the font at Bingley in Yorkshire.

NOTES ON SOME SCULPTURED STONES
IN VARIOUS CHURCHES VISITED DURING
THE DARLINGTON CONGRESS, 1886.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read 18 May 1887.)

IT will be readily acknowledged by antiquaries that, among the contributions to our knowledge of the art-works of the ancient inhabitants of our land which have resulted from recent researches, not the least interesting and valuable have been evidences of the existence of a vast number of sculptured stones, ornamented with figures or with elaborate patterns of interlaced work. That these works are of Christian date is at once proved, not only by the various inscriptions and emblems that occur upon them, but by their being in the form of a cross, and by their being found either within some church or close to the site of one.

A brief review of the numbers of such works which have already been reported in recent years to this Association will at once indicate the large area of our islands on which they are found. Mr. Irvine has shown us examples of Saxon interlaced work at Bradford-on-Avon and *in situ* at Barnack, Northamptonshire. Mrs. Golding has also instanced a valuable example of somewhat similar work *in situ* at Britford Church, Wilts. Mr. C. Lynam has given us a number of examples still to be found in various churches in Staffordshire. Mr. Romilly Allen has produced a fine series from South Wales, Yorkshire, the Isle of Man, and other parts of our country; while the Rev. G. F. Browne has indicated the existence of illustrations of north country myths on Christian memorials of Saxon date.

During our Cornish Congresses, we were made aware of the existence of similar works executed in the hard granite of the district; while we have, in later years, seen other examples not only in South Wales but in Norfolk.

It was reserved for our Durham Congress to make us acquainted with a class of monuments so similar in character to those which I have thus enumerated as to indicate their common origin; while a closer examination will show variations and differences which are not to be found with respect to the others. These variations, it is but fair to say, are hardly more than might be expected from the difference of material, for the delicacy and elaborate finish of some of the Durham specimens is hardly likely to be met with, say, in the Cornish examples. The former are carved for the most part in good durable readily-worked sandstone, the latter in hard granite.

The early date of these monuments has been so abundantly dwelt upon by the various Associates whom I have named, and many other writers in other works apart from our *Journal*, that it is now impossible to believe, as was the case a few years ago, that they are of so late a date as the twelfth century. While their dates and their styles are variable and different, it has been abundantly and satisfactorily proved that they are the work of pre-Norman times and people.

Their existence in large numbers, although with local differences, in Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, naturally leads us to believe that they had their beginnings with the rise and progress of the Romano-British Church, and this belief is likely to bear the test of future research. Evidence in this direction appears to be that many of the ornaments seem but as the natural development or evolution of those of early Celtic and Romano-British times. Yet it is already apparent that specimens are to be found in greater or less number in all parts of Saxon England, including districts where the authority of the ancient church of the land was most likely to have been superseded, not only by the advent of the Saxon invaders, but afterwards by that of the mission of Augustine, which held no intercourse or fellowship with the church of the vanquished Romano-Britons.

With these remarks by way of preface, let us turn to the examples of similar works, which were met with during our progresses in Durham and across its border.

At Darlington Church we found some fragments of crosses with interlaced patterns preserved within the sacred building, in a niche in the south wall of the south transept. Our thanks are due to Mr. J. P. Pritchett, who has courteously drawn these stones. His sketches, as exhibited at one of our recent evening meetings, accurately indicate the designs, and they prove that some Christian memorial existed at Darlington long prior to the erection of the present church, in which they had been used as building material. They were found during the recent restoration of the church. The workmanship is rude and the date is probably very early.

In the vicarage gardens close to Gainford Church we were shown a large number of sculptured stones, found during the recent works to the building, the whole of these valuable specimens having been used by the thirteenth century builders as old material. In fact, not to repeat this remark again and again, it may here be named once only, that almost all the examples to be described have been used as building material, no regard for their interest or their sepulchral nature having been shown them by their destroyers. The Spalding Field Club having already illustrated the most interesting of these stones, it may serve no useful purpose to dwell upon their description.

At Staindrop Church there is a pretty piece of interlaced work, built into the external wall of the north aisle. It is most probably a portion of the shaft of a cross very much decayed. Within the church, near the chancel-arch, I pointed out a stone with a sun-dial worked upon it, very similar to that to be seen at Escomb Church, and to that which I also indicated when we visited Clapham Church, Sussex. In fact, so numerous are now the examples of sun-dials of Saxon date, that we may fairly consider that they were usual in every ancient church.

The church at Dinsdale proved to be a little museum of these early works. Built up in the walls of the modern south porch, for preservation, are no less than nine examples found when the church was rebuilt a few years ago. There are portions of the heads of two fine crosses, and fragments of their shafts, or of other memorials. These

are carved with interlaced ornament, or with human figures or those of animals. A plain Greek cross on a slab has some curious radiating lines. One side only and no more is now visible of these stones, owing to their position. In the churchyard is the shaft of a cross, now much the worse for exposure. Within the church, acting as a sort of spur to the south jamb of the chancel-arch, is a curious hog-backed figure which at once recalls the sepulchral stone at Lower Heysham, Lancashire.¹ A band with a rude Greek fret-pattern, which forms the ridge of the monument, issues from the mouth of a bear, and it probably ended in a similar head, as at Heysham, but this portion is broken off. The sides are covered with panels of interlaced work. The font of the church is a small cylindrical bowl, standing on a circular pillar. It has a very early look, although the small size of the bowl may be evidence against its being of great antiquity.

At the ruins of the adjacent parish church of Sockburn we found another fine collection of sculptured stones. Conspicuous among these was a hog-backed stone, very similar to that at Dinsdale, broken into two portions, both of which fortunately exist. There are the same two heads, but differently treated, one at each end; while the sides are covered with interlaced continuous ornament. Within the ruins are fragments of several crosses and slabs, of varying size, including the head of a beautiful cross of Irish type, with a raised boss in the centre, several panels of interlaced work, and others with figure-subjects. We noticed that the walls of the church bore evidences which their ruined condition now readily reveal of additions and alterations; while at the north-west angle of the west front there are two or three courses of a projecting pilaster-strip, similar to what is found in the Saxon churches of the south of England.

It was, however, at St. Andrew's, Auckland, that the finest examples of these early works were met with. Here we found portions of the shafts of crosses, carved

¹ See frontispiece, *Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages*, by the Rev. E. C. Cutts. London: Parker, 1849.

with figures so admirably as to excel anything which we had seen elsewhere, the character of the work being very similar to that of Roman date. Other fragments were ornamented with sculptured foliage so deeply undercut and so elaborately carved as to approach very nearly to "Early English" work of the middle of the thirteenth century. In this respect these examples may be compared with the beautiful pyramid in Hackness Church, Yorkshire. The design and character of these beautiful monuments may be judged better by illustration than by description, and the following sketches represent some of the principal stones. They were sent for exhibition by the Rev. Dr. Hooppell.

At the Saxon church of Escomb we saw a small slab inscribed with a Latin cross under an arch. It has a central boss, with others on each arm of the cross, with two larger ones in the space of the panel right and left of the central shaft. It is now appropriately placed over the communion-table. The trough-like font has a very archaic look. It stands on a cross-shaped platform, around which has been restored the original pebble pavement.

At Croft Church, in the north-east angle of the east wall of the north aisle, internally, is a small fragment of very beautiful interlaced work. At Easby Church, over the arcade of the south aisle, is another fragment of very similar description. At Middleham Church, at the east end of the north aisle, externally, is a portion, apparently of a slab, inserted in the recently restored wall. Comparison of these fragments is of interest, as showing the mode of workmanship adopted. That at Middleham is of poor design and of worse execution. It is, however, of value as showing the mode of operation. The pattern has evidently been set out on the stone itself, and a line indicating it scratched. On this line an attempt has been made by a series of dots, formed by a pick, to sink-in the pattern, which, had it been completed, which does not appear to have been the case, would have been completed by the pick. One or two of the Dinsdale fragments show a similar mode of operation, although the better defining of the pattern, and the smoothness of the stones, make it clear that in

the great majority of instances the work was completed by a chisel. The examples at Croft and Easby, however, show that they were worked by a chisel ; and at Croft the raised bands of the pattern are rounded and not flat work, which no pick alone could produce. The sculpture and carving at St. Andrew's, Auckland, also indicate that their sculptors were well acquainted, not only with the chisel, but that they could use it with good effect.¹

¹ A sketch is also given of a remarkable carved stone found while making a grave in the churchyard at Thornton Steward, Yorkshire, October 1883. It represents part of the shaft and the head of a cross on which is sculptured the figure of the Saviour. The sketch is taken from a photograph prepared by the Hon. W. T. O. Powlett of Wensley Hall.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 4TH APRIL 1888.

SIR JAMES PICTON, F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

F. J. BEAUMONT, Esq., 42 Trinity Street, Southwark, was elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland," vol. viii, 4th Series. January and April 1888. Nos. 73, 74.

„ „ for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Fifth Series, No. 17, Jan. 1888.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, described the various objects and antiquarian sites to be visited during the Glasgow Congress in August next.

Mr. J. P. Pritchett, Hon. Local Secretary for the Darlington Congress, sent for exhibition a series of photographs, by Mr. P'Anson, of the Croft Cross, two sides of which have been recently recovered.

Mr. J. R. Allen said that he was of opinion that it is of the seventh century. He hoped a gallery of casts of this and other similar relics of Scandinavian art might some day be established.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock said it showed an incipient moulding, which made it of great interest, and gave it a claim to be unique.

Mr. T. Blashill again laid on the table his portfolio containing a large series of photographs of antiquarian sites and buildings in Rome for inspection by the members.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper entitled "Early Romans and late Excavations in the Forum Romanum." This was illustrated with a large number of etchings and engravings of Roman sites.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Rabson; Mr. W. de Gray Birch,

F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*; Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A.; Mr. C. H. Compton; Mr. Edw. Walford, M.A.; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A.; Mr. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, and others, took part.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH APRIL 1888.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library:

To the Rev. B. H. Blucker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Part xxxviii, April 1888.

To the Society, for "Collections, Historical and Archæological, relating to Montgomeryshire," Part xlii, April 1888.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, gave an account of the progress of arrangements for the Congress at Glasgow. A notice of the principal events likely to be carried out will be found on the fourth side of the wrapper of the March Part of the *Journal*.

Mr. Brock also described the condition of the ruined chapel of St. Germanus, near St. Alban's, and announced that it was in contemplation to raise a small private subscription to defray the cost of investigating the site. He also described the condition of the very ancient Broch of Clickimin, in Shetland, which had been neglected, and consequently pillaged of some of its stones for building purposes; but the injury had since been repaired, and the offender punished. A long account of this matter has been reported in the *Shetland Times* of Saturday, 7th April 1888. Mr. Brock also exhibited a large collection of French and German jettons and mediæval coins.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. R. Howlett, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., Dr. Woodhouse, and Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., took part.

The paper by Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., on the "Roman Walls of Deva", which had been set down for delivery to-night, was unavoidably postponed.

Mr. Oliver exhibited a Japanese bronze fumigator of fine character, in form of a lion, with tail hinged so as to form the cover of the recess for the incense; a pewter pot and spoon, inscribed PRIEST—BROWN BEAR; and a mortar of brass found at Victoria Tower; and a green-glazed bottle, of the sixteenth century, found at Nottingham Court, 16 feet below the surface.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. R. Mann on "The Roman Villa at Olveston, Gloucestershire." This was illustrated by a plan, diagrams, and drawings, and will find a place hereafter, it is hoped, in the *Journal*.

Mr. Roofe exhibited a copy of the terrier, made in 1714, of Lillingston-Darell Parsonage, co. Bucks.

Mr. R. Howlett read a communication from Mr. J. T. Irvine of Peterborough, who sent for exhibition a curious object of baked clay, in the possession of the Rev. Peter Royston, Rector of Orton Longueville. It was found in the fen at Whittlesea, on a farm belonging to Mr. John Ground, while some men were "claying", at a depth of from 10 to 12 feet. Three were found, and with them a Roman urn of the Castor type of pottery. The one exhibited was about 7 inches high, larger at the bottom than the top, and having two rounded projections at the top. Sir Henry C. Dryden, Bart., considers that they may have been used for burning charcoal on, with a small pot or pan on the top. They have in France many things not very unlike them for that use, of modern make.

Mr. Irvine also sent, on behalf of the Dowager Marchioness of Huntly, a fine palæolithic flint, accompanied with the following communication to the Hon. Secretary, which was read by Mr. Howlett:

ON A PREHISTORIC FLINT IN POSSESSION OF THE DOWAGER
MARCHIONESS OF HUNTLY.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

The kind permission of the Dowager Lady Huntly enables me to forward, in her Ladyship's name, for exhibition, a fine specimen of a so-called prehistoric flint implement found by the Marchioness herself in the park of the Marquess of Huntly's seat at Overton Longueville, on the Huntingdonshire bank of the river Nen. Here, in the woods terminating the park westwards, towards Orton Waterville, or Cherry Overton, in March 1887, a small gravel-pit was sunk to supply materials for the repair of the park walks, etc. On the heap of gravel thrown out, her Ladyship, when walking in the park, March 15, 1887, saw and picked up the instrument now sent for exhibition. The workmen were afterwards questioned if it had been seen by them, and if they knew the depth and layer from which it came; but neither had they seen it, nor could they throw any light on the subject.

The whole stretch of the upper edge of the hill forming the Huntingdonshire bank of the river is composed of a deep bed of gravel in its natural layers, resting on the underlying "Oxford clay". Sections show this deposit as undisturbed, and the greater part so fine that to obtain *road-flint* large quantities require to be turned over.

Several circumstances connected with this flint and its finding render it of more than ordinary interest. First, in relation to a natural law seen proceeding in itself; secondly, in regard to the circumstances of its finding connecting it with other finds in tolerably close proximity to the site of the discovery.

In regard to the first, close inspection reveals in the stone itself the existence, at present, of certain "vents of spalling" progressing in its actual material, resulting evidently from a natural law of destructive "spalling" existing in the flint itself. These vents are the edges of hollows which the liberation of "spalls" not yet set free would eventually leave. A careful note of the various hollows of the present surface show certain such hollows wanting the tinge of ferruginous coating, arising from the very circumstance that from such hollows "spalls" produced by this law had already been liberated during the deposited state of the instrument. The Rev. Canon Argles has with much reason suggested the probability that the progress in a flint instrument of such law may be indeed hastened by the percussion its substance received during the use (whatever it was) of the instrument. One thing is undoubted, that in this a natural law is progressing which of necessity, if undisturbed, would eventually disintegrate the flint implement into a mass of ordinary "spalls".

Secondly, after its discovery the natural flint layers were accepted by all as its deposit *home*, and this made me very desirous to visit the pit to inspect them. On doing so, great was my astonishment to find the facts there threw the greatest doubt on such an origin; the sections exposed in the sides disclosing that the site of the pit had fallen by accident on a spot traversed diagonally (as regards the pit) by one of those remarkable ditches of considerable depth and width, and of an age so removed as sufficed for a refilling which nowhere left on the surface the slightest trace of any such former existence. The white tint of the gravel layers admirably contrasting, and exposing the darker *earth* section of the ditch. The hollow folds of fibrous stuff towards the bottom of its channel held larger flints evidently thrown in from off the surface during its early days. The line of ditch pointed to the river Nen.

One thing appears singular. What object led to the excavation of so broad and deep a ditch through a slope with but shallow depth of vegetable soil over a deep bed of gravel loose enough to suck in greedily almost any quantity of water. Thus water could only have passed along its course during or immediately after very heavy thunder showers, and then but for a very few moments. Want of direct evidence prevents actual assertion of its deposit-point being towards the bottom of this ditch; but no moral doubt seems to exist that in all probability from enclosure in its lower fibrous folds was derived the strong tint of bog-iron deposit which authenticates its age.

The circumstances, when carefully investigated on the spot, brought at once very strongly to mind the facts connected with the finding of certain fragments of very hard brick, *pointed*, wedge-like objects during the excavation of clay in a brickfield at the next village of Wood-

stone, about a mile and three-quarters eastwards. These fragments were exhibited at one of the meetings last year. They likewise came from the bottom of a ditch almost alike in sectional depth, etc.; but cut through the clay, and only a slight amount of gravel, that layer disappearing there almost entirely, though deepening rapidly in the same yard westwards. This ditch, like the former, was so entirely filled up as to leave no trace above.

At various points of its bottom, during removal to reach the brick-clay below, small pockets of finds took place,—of bones, animal and human; rude, dark, early pottery; Roman black and Castor ware (fragments of great variety); fragments of white ware mortars and red Samian ware; and at one spot the above-mentioned hard, pointed, brick wedges; quite as hard as, and much like in colour to the Dutch clinkers.

As archæological history can only be recovered by careful comparison of the circumstances and facts attending such finds, it seemed scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion produced by these close neighbouring discoveries, transcripts as they almost were of each other. The evidence forced on us by them is that these unseen and therefore unknown ditches must exist in far greater number than is ordinarily supposed; and it would seem by this analogy that though certain exceptions would, no doubt, exist, a rude uniformity of matters of finds would be exposed if they are excavated; that their very existence, and the amount of regular expenditure of labour displayed in their execution and consideration in position, must of necessity represent a tolerably settled and civilised stage of society, as evidenced in the production of such advanced agricultural works. That every probability points to fixing such stage at that date which corresponds to the ancient cultivation seen covering the (*non* cultivated in historical times) tops of the chalky hills of southern England; seen also over the Midlands and north, through Yorkshire; said also to largely extend over the south of Scotland, and with which I am tempted to connect that represented by the stone walls of a dim past age which now peep from below many feet of peat-moss along the wild shores of the Shetland Islands, as at the Voe of Collafirth, west of Unst, over the deep, dark waters of Walefirth, or at the “Stennie Pond”, south of Stronganess in Yell. A cultivation of the Roman period when Britain was, as we learn, one of the granaries of the Roman empire; a cultivation admirably seen on the chalk uplands of Dorset towards Up Sidling, or Dorchester, on the Roman road, where the lines of fences and ditches (some of the last precisely like those above described, only *still* empty), and of two distinct periods of such cultivation, are seen to occur, crossing each other often at nearly right angles; a cultivation with which the remarkable “launs” or “lanches” of the Dorset hill-sides are certainly connected.

The sites of the faggot-built huts of the slave-labourers being, no doubt, found in these spots, where, on the flat lands below, the present farmers tell us they sometimes come on small spots rudely paved or pitched with flints.

In his admirable work on such flint remains, Dr. Evans presents us with woodcuts showing agricultural implements faced with flints; and the temptation is very strong to accept the *hard*, brick-pointed wedges of the Woodstone brickyard find as fragments of such teeth substituted for the more costly iron tines of wooden harrows; like as the wooden teeth are seen at present in the wooden harrows used in the remote north of Scotland. If such wooden framing only was placed in position to present diamond-shaped openings, no difficulty would arise in inserting these so-called "prehistoric flint implements" into such openings, to form the clod-crushers of the Roman farmer dragged by the slaves he yoked to them. Such use would produce on the point so used the very effects seen on them.

If such use was their intention, where would they appear most often but on the hot, dry, flint soils where wheat ripened best? And what other direct remains of Roman husbandry do archaeological researches in Britain furnish us with? If they are in *any* connection with such period, the term "prehistoric" is but so far correct as the Roman author found more valuable and interesting matter to record on his page than descriptions of the rude and homely instruments of British husbandry.

One lesson these discoveries suggest, that before accepting in future such finds as "prehistoric", in the general acceptance of the term, it surely becomes both desirable and reasonable to require most clear and accurate observance of the whole circumstances surrounding such discoveries.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 2 MAY 1888.

The ballot for the election of officers was declared open, and taken, at the close of the usual interval, with the following result:

President.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON, D.C.L.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, Bart.; SIR JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., P.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J.O.H. PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. PREB. H.M. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.
JOHN WALTER, Esq.
GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

Council.

G. G. ADAMS, Esq., F.S.A.
J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.
ALGERNON BRENT, Esq.
ARTHUR CATES, Esq.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.
R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.R.S.L.
J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.

RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq.
W. F. LANTON, Esq., F.S.A.
J. T. MOULD, Esq.
W. MYERS, Esq., F.S.A.
GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.
W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq.
ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Auditors.

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

R. E. WAY, Esq.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read the

THEASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING
31 DECEMBER 1887.

The Balance-Sheet laid on the table, as usual on this occasion, has been prepared by Mr. Samuel Rayson, the Sub-Treasurer, and it will be seen that he has collected the subscriptions successfully during the year 1887. Another source of income upon which we have always depended has not brought us any immediate financial aid; but, on the contrary, a loss in money, though in other respects the Congress at Liverpool has been considered a success, and one which will maintain the reputation of our Association.

On the other side of the account, by useful economies, the expense of printing and publishing the *Journal*, and also the cost of illustrations, have been materially reduced without interfering with the efficiency of our *Journal*. The other items are constant, and are incapable of diminution.

Taking, then, a view of our position financially, as your Treasurer is bound to do, let me enlist the endeavours of every member to propose new associates, whereby the income of the Society may be increased, and the blanks caused by death and retirement may be filled up. At the same time let me impress upon the Congress and Local Congress Secretaries the necessity of judicious arrangements for economy at the Glasgow Meeting, whereby the accustomed revenue from that source of income may be restored.

The balance of £13 : 17 : 1 against the Association is not large, but it is on the wrong side, and we must not increase it by a further deficiency this year, particularly as we shall have to pay for printing the Index, Part II, which has not yet come into the actual disbursements.

THOMAS MORGAN.

The adoption of the Report and Balance-Sheet was put, and seconded by Mr. G. R. Wright, V.P., F.S.A., and carried unanimously.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the

HON. SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DEC. 1887.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archaeological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the past year, 1887.

1. By comparing the list of members in the current part of the *Journal*, dated 31 March 1888, a total of 404 names is shown against 432 names in the *Journal* of 1887, 442 in 1886, and 441 in 1885.

2. During 1887 a large number of complete works, or parts of

works, relating to archæology and antiquities, have been presented to the Library of the Association. The want of a convenient Library or Reading-Room for the consulting of these works is much felt by the members, and it is a matter of regret that the funds of the Association are still inadequate to provide for this desirable object.

3. Thirty-six of the most important papers read at the recent Congress held at Darlington and Bishop Auckland, 1886, or during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of 1887, which is illustrated by fifty-three designs, some of which have been contributed by the liberality of our friends and Associates, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf. The Honorary Secretaries are pleased to be able to announce that they have in hand a considerable number of papers accepted for publication and illustration in the *Journal* as circumstances may permit.

W. DE G. BIRCH } *Hon. Secs.*
E. P. L. BROCK }

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, then read the following :—

ON TWO POINTS IN ROMANO-BRITISH HISTORY.

BY T. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER*.

Prevented from attending the evening meetings during this session as often as I could have wished, it would be useless for me to attempt a *résumé* of the proceedings as on former occasions; but in the meantime I will, with your permission, make a statement as to clearing up two points of historical interest which have been occupying my attention of late, and which concern the invasion and first annexation of Britain by Claudius,—a subject not foreign to your researches into Roman antiquities throughout the session.

In the *Winchester Volume* of our Association (p. 185) is given an account of the Barberini inscription by the Rev. Beale Post. This was on a fragment of stone dug up about two hundred years ago in Rome, as he says, near the Arco di Portogallo. The stone was a dedication-stone to the Emperor Claudius on the occasion of his subduing the kings of Britain, and being the *first* to bring the island into subjection. Unfortunately the broken stone contained only one half of the inscription, it having been divided longitudinally, and the other half was wanting when Mr. Post wrote in 1846, so that the remainder of the inscription, that is one half of each line, had to be filled up by conjecture.

The date of dedication by the Senate to the Emperor was in his fifth consulate, corresponding with A.D. 51; the first Claudian invasion of our island by Aulus Plautius and Cneius Sentius having been made

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1887.

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1886 in favour of the Association	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions and donations £309 12 0	26	7	5
Life-compositions and entrance-fees	37	16	0
	347	8	0

Sale of publications	21	5	9
Sale of Index, Vol. II	10	11	0

Balance against the Association	13	17	1
	£419	9	3

EXPENDITURE.

Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	£	s.	d.
Illustrations to the same	54	13	8
Less donation from Mr. T. Morgan	2	2	0
	52	11	8

Miscellaneous printing and advertising	22	5	9
Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	18	19	9
Cost, in part, of Index, Vol. II	15	15	0
Rent for 1887, and clerk's salary	71	13	0
Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	8	5	3
Fire insurance premiums	5	15	0
Loss on Liverpool Congress	8	10	10
	£419	9	3

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct, leaving a balance against the Association of £13 : 17 : 1.

25 April 1888. A. CHASEMORE }
R. EARLE WAY } *Auditors.*

in A.D. 43 with two consular armies, that is four legions, and the Emperor coming over in the following year with another large addition to the force; and the two sons of Cunobelinus (the Cymbeline of our Shakespeare), who were presumably among the kings of Britain spoken of in the inscription, were subdued, one of them being slain. Aulus Plautius was honoured with an ovation. Ostorius Scapula afterwards succeeded to the command in Britain, and died after an arduous career in many hard-fought campaigns, in the last of which he took Caractacus prisoner.

In the inscription the Emperor Claudius gets the honour of the conquest, said to have been made "*absque ulla jactura*" (without any disaster), which Mr. Beale Post explains by the meaning that the purpose was carried through, and did not result in failure, like that of Julius Cæsar his predecessor. Mr. Post explains in this way the discrepancy between Dion Cassius, who gives one account, though not very comprehensive, of the conquest, with its difficulties and encounters with the enemy; and another, that of Suetonius, who makes short work of the conquest, as he might have seen it described on the Arch of Claudius; and it was not his plan, in the *Lives of the Cæsars*, to detail the operations of their generals, which were known by the accounts of Tacitus and other historians.

Mr. Beale Post, when he wrote in 1846, said that "the original fragment of the stone does not seem to be at present forthcoming, which is to be regretted". Being in correspondence with my brother, the Rev. A. A. Morgan, in Rome, I asked him to make inquiries about the stone, and find that it is still preserved in the Barberini Palace, and united to the remaining portion of the inscription, which has been found since Mr. Post wrote. I have obtained the full inscription from my brother, and a confirmation of it since from Mr. S. Russell Forbes, a resident of Rome, and well known for his intimate knowledge of the antiquities there. He has very kindly sent me a photograph of the stone itself, which I produce. The inscription, in English, is as follows:

"The Senate and Roman people to Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Pontifex Maximus, invested with the tribunitian power for the ninth time; in his fifth consulate; for the sixteenth time hailed Imperator; father of his country. Dedicated for that he subdued the kings of Britain without any collapse, and *first* brought the barbarous nations into subjection" (*in ditionem*).

Mr. S. Russell Forbes, writing to me from Rome (93 Via Babuino), has given me the following further particulars, a useful supplement to the now complete text. He says: "The left half, in looking at it, was found near the Piazza Sciarra, in the Corso, the right half at the Arco di Portugallo; but I do not know the authority for the latter half, except the custody at the Barberini Palace. The Arch of Clau-

TIT CLAVDIO CES
AVGVSTO
PONTIFICI MAXTRPIX
COSVIMPXVIP.P
SENATVS POPVLOQVOD
REGES BRITANNIE ARSQ
VLLA AC TVRADOMVERIT
GENTES OVES ARB ARAS
PRIMVS INDICIO SVBGER



dus was on the Via Lata: a coin represents it (see Donaldson, *lv*, p. 218). A relief (No. 41) on the stairs of the Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Capitol came from the Arch. It was found near the Sciarra Palace. The head of Claudius was missing, and has been restored as Antoninus Pius. It represents Claudius being received at the Porta Triumphalis. The keystone is at the Roman College, and the Victories at the Capitoline Museum. Claudius' fifth consulate was in A.D. 51 (see Suetonius, *Claud.*, 14, and Tacitus, *Ann.*, xii, 41). Camden gives an inscription found in Somersetshire, quoted by Gruter, cccxxxviii, 5:

TI . CLAVDIVS . CAESAR . AVG . P . M .
 TRIB . P . VIII . IMP . XVI . DE . BRITAN

which agrees with the Barberini inscription as to dates. The Arco di Portugallo is off the Via Scroffa, a continuation of the Ripetta, and some distance from the Via Lata, where the Arch stood." (See photograph.)

The other point of history which I wish to bring forward is in reference to the operations of the before-mentioned Ostorius Scapula on the rivers Severn and Avon. A rather important question depends on the reading of one sentence in Tacitus, and particularly of one word in that sentence; and being desirous of ascertaining the best opinion as to the oldest and most reliable text of Tacitus in manuscript in this country, I addressed the following letter to Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., one of our valued Honorary Secretaries; and if I read it you will see the scope of my inquiry:—

Streatham Hill, April 1888.

TO WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., BRITISH MUSEUM.

The more foreign criticisms upon ancient authors are studied, the more will it appear that, as regards Romano-British history, an inclination seems to run through them to depreciate the natives of Britain, both before the Roman conquest as well as after, under the rule of the Emperors. If not mistaken, I seem to recognise such a tendency even in the late comprehensive *History of Rome* by Theodore Mommsen, translated by W. P. Dickson, D.D., LL.D., 1886.

We know that the system of Rome was to amalgamate in order to govern, and to give some share of local government to the conquered nations. Such a system of autonomy caused but a little more than a gradual change in the regulation of each province when it passed under foreign rule; and that old precedents of the republic were acted upon in this respect under the empire, appears by that famous speech of the Emperor Claudius when advocating the claims of the Gauls to be eligible as Roman senators, recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.*, xi, 24), and found engraved on a tablet of brass, in 1528, at Lyons in France. (Gruter, 502.) Why should Britain have been an exception to this

rule? And was it really so? Nothing that we know goes to prove that Britain had not the same privileges as the most favoured nation.

Into this question I do not wish now to enter, but only to ask your co-operation in furnishing our Society with the correct reading of one passage on events under P. Ostorius Scapula in Tacitus, which we have been in the habit of accepting as follows: "Ne rursus conglobarentur, infensaque et infida pax non duci, non militi requiem permetteret, detrahere arma suspectis, *cinctosque* castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat." (*Ann.*, xii, 31.)

The plain meaning of the passage *thus* written is that Ostorius prepared to put a check on the rivers Antona and Sabrina, girt about as they were with camps; that is, that those rivers, bristling with the camps of the native Britons, were in the habit of pouring down detachments by water on the Roman forces. If the *upper* Avon and Severn are meant by the two rivers, these unite at Tewkesbury; and the fields about there, where modern battles have been fought, would be favourable ground for the mustering of horses and chariots by the native forces to harass the Roman encampments at Gloucester and neighbourhood. It seems natural, therefore, that Ostorius would take steps, by the distribution of his troops and galleys, to obviate this, though in what manner we are not told.

If the *lower* Avon and Severn were intended, then the junction of these rivers near Bristol would remove thither the sites whence the natives would harass the Roman forts between Bristol and the Severn Sea, both on the Somersetshire as well as the Gloucestershire side of the Avon.

I now turn to the version of Tacitus by J. Naudet, Member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Fine Arts (Paris, 1819), based upon the text of J. J. Oberlin. He gives the text as "*cunctosque* castris ad Auvonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat"; but in a note, vol. ii, p. 126, he says "*Sed ludimus aleam, in loco fortasse non pleno.*" Lips. MS. Fl., "*cunetaque* castris"; ed. pr., "*cunetasque* castris: et mox 'Sabrinam'. Ceteri ut in textu. Pichena conjiciebat '*cunetosque* ultra A. et S. sensu probabili.' Balirt in vers. germ. sequitur Ernesti conjecturam '*castris Antona et Sabrina fluviiis.*'"

So much for M. Naudet. I then turn to Valpy's *Tacitus*, also founded on the Delphin edition of Oberlin (1821). He says, "*Cum Ryckio, Brotiero, et Homero, Gronovius habet 'cinctosque castris.'*" See MS. Flor., Vatie., Corb., Harl., Bodl., J. Guelf, editio princeps, et Pntolanus.

None of these readings, other than our usual version of "*cinctosque*", makes either good Latin or good sense without a forced construction or presumed ellipsis, yet they serve, whether intentionally or not, to keep out of sight the probability of the native races having had fortified camps on the banks of the rivers named.

Lastly, I come to the learned Mommsen's version, who, in that part of his work on the provinces, from Caesar to Diocletian, translated by W. P. Dickson, D.D., LL.D., gives, in a note on p. 178, Part I. the following as the text of Tacitus, but without quoting authority: (P. Ostorius) "*cunetaque castris ad ntonam*" (MSS. read "*castris Antonam*") "*et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat*", which makes the sense even more unintelligible than the rest.

Dean Merivale, in his *History of the Romans under the Empire* (1858),

vol. vi, p. 30, says in a note on this passage of Tacitus, "The ground on which we tread here, following the general consent of our critics from Camden downwards, is most uncertain. Neither the names nor the construction can be made out clearly from the MSS. of Tacitus. Ritter reads "cunctaque castris Avonam usque et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat."

The point is an important one in our scanty history of Roman Britain, and from your knowledge of the MSS., and by reference to those in the British Museum, you may be able to solve the question, which can only be done after arriving at the authentic rendering of the oldest MSS., and a record of the result would be a work worthy of our Society.

Requesting your kind co-operation, I remain, yours very truly,

THOMAS MORGAN.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., then, in reply, read the following

"NOTE ON THE READINGS IN TACITUS POINTED OUT BY MR. MORGAN.

"The Association is indebted to Mr. Morgan, on this occasion, for the notes upon a matter of importance in the early history of Britain, which cannot fail to attract the critical attention of the members. There are in the British Museum two fine MSS. of the *Annals* of Tacitus. They are attributed to the second third of the fifteenth century, or between A.D. 1440 and 1470 in point of execution.

"The first of these, Harley MS. 2764, reads, '.... Detrahere arma suspectis, cinct^oasque castris Antonam et Sabinam fluvios cohibere parat' (f. 14b). Here the sense is, 'the rivers Antona and Sabina girt with camps'.

"The second MS., Add. 8904, reads, 'Detrahere arma suspectis cinctisque castris Antonam et Sabinam fluvios cohibere parat' (f. 17b). The meaning here is that Ostorius prepares to restrain the dwellers on the two rivers with all the camp, *i.e.*, all the forces at his command.

"I cannot account for the peculiar *hiatus* in Mommsen's edition as quoted by Mr. Morgan. The chief point of interest is the names and identification of the rivers, for there are few who will dispute that 'cinctos' is the correct reading of the passage.

"'Sabina' is evidently a synonym of 'Sabrina', the Severn, or in Irish 'Sabhrann' (the division or boundary), a very appropriate appellation for so wide a stream, the boundary of the realms of Cunobellinus; just as was also the Forest of Savernake,—which word, according to Dr. Guest (*Orig. Celt.*, ii, 61), appears to be an adjective, 'sabhranach'. Savernake Forest was probably, he says, called by the Belgæ 'Coit-Sabhranach', *i.e.*, the Wood of Sabhran, or the Border Forest. It would be an unnecessary task for me to enumerate the forts of the British along the Severn. They are numerous and well known. Along the Anton or Test I observe the following, of large extent,—Bury Hill, with very high ramparts, near Andover; and Abbot's Ann; Rooks-

bury; Trent Hill; Deanbury Hill; Worlbury Hill, near Stockbridge; Toot Hill; and Tatchbury Mount. With these the river Anton was particularly well 'cinctus castris' by the British occupiers. Two Roman roads cross each other about a mile to the north-east of Andover.

"The 'Antona' is explained by Petrie, in his *Index Geographicus* to the *Monum. Historic. Britan.*, as the Avon (that, namely, which runs into the Severn, as distinguished from the 'Abona' or Wiltshire Avon). But in Petrie's map, given in the same work, the river Nen is called the 'Antona'; and I notice that Dr. Walker calls the Nen the 'Antona' in his notes on the Roman bronze horseman lately exhibited to the Association. Forcellini, in his description of the Antona, writes, "flumen Britanniae quod Polydorus Virgilius testatur *Vejam* dici, incolis 'the *Wie*', meminit Anton in itineraio ubi Camdenus mavult legere *Aurona*, ut est fluvius quem hodie 'the *Avon*' nuncupant."

"Petrie, however, in his above-mentioned work, at p. 131 of the chronological abstract for A.D. 50, points out that 'Ostorius Scapula is sent by Claudius into Britain, defeats the Britons who had made an irruption into the territory of those in alliance with Rome, and extends a chain of forts between the rivers Avon (? Nen) and Severn. The Iceni revolt and are defeated", etc.

"It appears an unnecessary step to seek the river Antona either in the Nen, the Wye, or the Avon of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Wiltshire. The river Anton is still to this day in possession of its original British name, as is seen on the Map of Hampshire by J. and C. Walker, which I here lay on the table. Rising not far from Andover (*i.e.*, 'Anton-dour', the Anton water), in North Hants, the river, which watered the 'Ann' district of this county runs down nearly due south, past Stockbridge (the bridge of stockading) and Romsey, to the head of the great estuary of Southampton Water. It forms a natural boundary, or first line of defence, between the Wiltshire or Salisbury Plain and the rich lands of the Winchester district. This river has, like many others, an *alias*, its other name being the 'Test', or, as it is spelled in Anglo-Saxon literature, 'Terstan'.¹ I doubt if Mr. G. M. Hills, our late Treasurer, were correct in connecting the names of *Anderida* Forest and Southampton;² nor do I agree with him in his view that the *Trisanton* river of Ptolemy is the triple inlet of Portsmouth Harbour, Langston Harbour, and Chichester Harbour. Nor do I agree with Mr. Bradley that Trisanton is the Sussex Ouse of Lewes and Newhaven. Petrie, *l. c.* (*Index Geogr.*, p. cxliv, applies both the Test and Sussex Ouse to 'Trisanton fluvius'. I am more inclined to see in 'Terstan' the Saxon corruption or version of the Romanised British 'Trisanton'. The transposition of the liquid *r* (preceded by a conso-

¹ "Terstan" and "Testan", *Cartul. Saxon.*, No. 544, A.D. 877 (Nutschilling);—"Terstan", No. 594, A.D. 900 (Stoke).

² *Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 284.

nant) and its following vowel is not at all uncommon in English dialects; as, for example, Bridlington, in Yorkshire, is locally pronounced Birlington; ‘pullus=ciccu, oððebrid (=bird), oððe fola’, is given by Wüleker, *Angl. Sax. Vocab.*, in an old list printed in vol. i, col. 318, 24. Thus Terstan=Trestan, and comes very close in sound to the Trisanton of Ptolemy.

“I consider the idea of *three* in Trisanton, as suggested by Mr. Hills, to be quite untenable. Anton may be a river god or genius; and if so, the classical name Antonius may be in some way connected with it. How it comes that the same river, as I suggest, should have two appellations, ‘Antona’ in Tacitus, and ‘Trisanton’ in Ptolemy, I cannot explain any more than I can say why the river is now called the Anton or Test. Perhaps Trisanton is an intensified form of Anton, unless its meaning is to be sought for in some lost British root analogous to the Greek *τρυῖζω*, *susurro*; or *ἐρύος*, *nemus*. The Welsh *drysu*, briar or brambles, may, perhaps, be here represented in Trisanton as the brambly part of the Anton district. According to a recent historian¹ of Hampshire the county derives its name from the river Ant or Anton, which flows southward from Andover to Southampton Water, the supposed Antona of Tacitus.”

The death of our old member, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, F.S.A., was then alluded to in terms of regret by Mr. Birch.

A series of votes of thanks to the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers, and to all those who by their labours have assisted the Association at the Congress and during the session, were proposed by Mr. Mould and carried unanimously. Afterwards the meeting was closed.

WEDNESDAY, 16TH MAY 1888.

R. HOWLETT, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents:

To Joaquín Baranda for “Memoria al Congreso de la Union”. Mexico, 1887.

To the Society, for “Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections”, vol. xxxi. Washington, 1888.

” ” for “The Journal of the Society for Preserving Memorials of the Dead”, No. 6. March 1888.

To the Society, for Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland”, 1886-7. Edinburgh, 1887.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, reported further progress of arrangements for the Congress at Glasgow during the month of August.

¹ William White, *History of Hampshire*, p. 17 (1878).

Mr. Brock exhibited a large collection of groats and half-groats from the time of Edward III to Henry VIII, and some of Charles II.

Mr. J. M. Wood read a paper on the "Round Towers of the Churches of Essex", which was illustrated with drawings and elevations. It is hoped the paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

In the subsequent discussion Mr. Chancellor pointed out that the nave of Broomfield Church is a Roman building. Mr. Compton, Mr. Rabson, Mr. Brock, and Mr. Allen also took part in the discussion.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read a communication from Mr. J. T. Irvine of Peterborough, entitled "Notes of Excavations made at Wall by the late Colonel Bagnell." This was also illustrated with plans and drawings to scale. It will appear in a future Number.

Mr. A. Wyon, F.R.G.S., Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals, exhibited a medal struck in 1667, by John Roettier, to commemorate the Peace of Breda; and an autotype full-sized reproduction of Queen Anne's second Great Seal, engraved in 1707, and called attention to the similarity of the figure of Britannia in each. The position and treatment of the figures are almost precisely the same, and the same is observable in regard to the spear, shield, and laurel-leaves held by Britannia, and in the overhanging rock behind her figure; leaving little doubt that the engraving on the seal was an enlarged reproduction of the engraving on the medal with a few modifications, although it does not appear why or at whose instance the copy was made.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH JUNE 1888.

REV. PREB. H. M. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Rev. Henry Cart, Upper Norwood, was duly elected a member.

E. A. Baker, Esq., was duly elected a Local Member of Council for Somersetshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents:

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal", vol. xlv, No. 177. 1888.

" " for "Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society's Proceedings", vol. xxxiii. 1887.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, laid on the table the first edition of the Congress programme, and gave an account of the progress of the preliminary arrangements, which had been discussed, with the assistance of Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, one of the Hon. Secretaries for the Congress, at the Council Meeting in the afternoon.

Mr. Brock pointed out that the paragraph respecting the contemplated destruction of the Norman buildings near the Castle keep at

Christchurch, Hants., which has recently appeared in the newspapers, was incorrect, and that the buildings referred to are in no peril at the hands of those charged with their preservation.

A photograph of the recently discovered Roman sculpture at Carlisle was exhibited, and the following communication was read :

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT CARLISLE.

BY R. S. FERGUSON, ESQ., F.S.A.

The Corporation of Carlisle are now erecting markets on a site between Scotch Street and Fisher Street, recently occupied by butchers'



Roman sculptured Stone found at Carlisle.

shambles and by the well-known Mushroom Hall, of great fame in connection with the "mushroom elections" for Carlisle in the last century. This site has at various times yielded Roman relics, and some beautiful bronze tripods found here in 1802 or 1803 are now in the British Museum. A careful watch has been kept in order to secure for the Carlisle Museum anything that might turn up.

An immense quantity of broken pottery has been found, and also a few perfect vessels. The potters' marks have been carefully noted, and yield some not yet on the printed lists. Very few coins have come to hand. A bronze pin, a bronze and enamelled fibula, and other odds and ends, have been found; also a most beautiful hone of quartzite, square in section, tapering to each end, and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by five-eighths in thickness at the middle. This quartzite is from Devonshire, but boulders of it have travelled north as far as Staffordshire. Mr. Evans attributes this to Roman or Anglo-Saxon times. A small

blank altar was also found, and with it was the stone socket in which it stood. This was found in the middle of the site, at a depth of 12 ft., in a pit sunk for a foundation. It does not as yet appear whether this altar stood in the open or not. A beautiful group of *dee matres* was found at a depth of 18 in., near Fisher Street. It measures about 13 in. by 12 in. It has represented the usual three seated figures under an arch, but one is broken off. There are hopes it may be found. The moulding on the arch is very curious and distinctive. Fragments of antlers of red deer have occurred in great numbers, and at all depths down to 25 ft.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., sent for exhibition the photograph of a figure of Our Lord from a crucifix recently exhumed in the churchyard near Lancing, Sussex. One of the feet is jewelled, to mark the stigma. It is of iron, originally gilded, and probably comes from the binding of a service-book of the thirteenth century.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew again laid on the table his marble sculptured head from Walbrook (see vol. xliii, p. 107), and stated that he had submitted it to Mr. A. Murray, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, who had pronounced it to be Romano-British art-work of the third century of our era. Mr. Mayhew also exhibited a large and miscellaneous collection of antiquities, including a Persian coffee-set inlaid with blue turquoise enamels, two gospel-bells, carved ivories, pottery, latten vases, and other relics. A short paper on these objects will be printed hereafter.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, on behalf of Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., the following objects from Egypt: one necklace of beads of unusual colour, one bronze razor, one pair of bronze tweezers, one bronze *stilus* (Roman period), one bronze tool for engraving, one opaque glass eye from a mummy-case (broken), two carnelian rings, one gold-plated or brass ring, one carnelian finger-ring; also, from Orvieto: one handle of Etruscan bronze urn, two bronze earrings; from Perugia: one iron hand with dog's head on amulet, one arrow-head, one silver (mounted as an amulet); from Fiesole: one bronze serpent in form of a bracelet, two bronze lion-claw supports, one cherub.

Mr. Birch read, in the absence of the author, a paper entitled "On a Situla of the late Celtic Period, from Elvedon, near Thetford, Suffolk", by Henry Prigg, Esq. This was illustrated with a drawing, and will, it is hoped, find a place in the *Journal* hereafter.

The Rev. Mr. Mayhew read a paper on "Roman Remains near Filey, Yorks.", with illustrations, which will be printed in a future *Journal*.

Mr. Birch made some remarks upon the valuable characteristics of the extant Roman leaden pigs found in Britain.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 104.)

THURSDAY, 18TH AUGUST 1887.

THE members to-day performed an excursion among the architectural antiquities in Cheshire and Lancashire. A start was made for Runcorn, carriages and omnibuses being in waiting to convey the company to Halton Castle, and thence to Warrington and Wigan. The first part of the journey gave tokens of a rainy day, but this presentiment was happily only in part fulfilled. The progress was along a Roman road (though, of course, with a modern face), past antiquated churches embowered among wooded and picturesque scenery.

The first stoppage after leaving Runcorn was Halton Castle, distant about three and a half miles. Standing on a high rock, the site, difficult to ascend, commands a far-reaching view in all directions. Unfortunately a shower commenced to fall before the party arrived. But for the presence of a considerable number of residential buildings surrounding it, and located on the accessible side of the slope, with a small hotel partly built on the site, the Castle (now in ruins), might prove a dreary scene to all but antiquarian enterprise. The crumbling walls attest its importance as a fortress in early times, and the wide area enclosed within the outer walls, and now partly used as a bowling-green, prove the resources of the place as one of refuge to the ancient community when hard pressed.

Mr. Morton gave an account of the Castle. He believed the Castle to have been built after the Conquest by Nigel, a companion of the Conqueror. William, son of Nigel, denounced Roger de Poitou, who had all the property in his hands, as a traitor, and the property was confiscated by the King. Nigel and his son William were, however, Lieutenants or Constables of Hugh Lupus, the great Earl of Chester. Under the latter there were, altogether, about seven Constables holding the district in subjection. Afterwards there was the celebrated family of De Lacy. They were the Governors of Clitheroe

Castle. John de Lacy was Constable of Halton from 1211 to 1232, and he had also property in Yorkshire. Halton was at the head of all this part of the country, and surrounding property was held under its lord by military service. If a fire were kindled on the eminence, property-holders were bound to come with their retainers. Property being held as far as Ince Blundell and Crosby, and round on the other side, an immense force could be brought together on very short notice, while the Castle was so strongly built and fortified that foes could not very well come in the night and kill the constable. Mr. Morton added that Norton Priory was about two miles distant, and could easily be seen from Halton had the weather been favourable. It was now in the possession of a member of the Society, but the only archæological remains were inside the dwelling-house.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, in describing the architectural features of the place, said he would take up the narrative at an earlier period. Consideration of the site of Halton Castle at once indicated, from analogy, that that hill was in very early times the site of an ancient British castle; and since there were no other similar ancient sites close to it, it was reasonable to suppose that this was that of a hill-town. Romans and Saxons would, no doubt, follow on where ancient Britons had been before them. Archæologists seldom or never found a site where a Saxon or other manor-house had been occupied, which the Normans, when they possessed the property, had not adapted for a far stronger and more important building than had previously occupied the site. In going round the walls of Halton Castle there was no difficulty in being able to determine, from the masonry, that it formed part of a Norman building. This was one of the cases in which the actual evidence of the remains found agreed well with what historians could tell them of it. Of moulded work of Norman date he could find none. Then there was no evidence of other building till about the middle of the fourteenth century; but the masonry gave good evidence that a number of the towers were at that time rebuilt or refaced. The bulk of the remains of the present day were those of the fifteenth century, and the chapel might even be a little later. Then there was amongst the masonry a considerable quantity which must have been new at the time of the civil wars; amongst others a semicircular alcove in which the party sheltered from the rain. The Castle must have been in good condition to resist the siege on the outbreak of the civil wars; and there was good evidence that when the final catastrophe came, the Castle was blown up and dismantled in great haste. From that time to the present the Castle had been a ruin, and they regarded it as affording, like other ancient fortresses, a history of England open before them like the pages of a book. Reminded of some appearances seen on the

building, Mr. Brock added that there were rough semicircular arches cut out of the solid single stones, which might probably have been of Roman origin.

Mr. Hance said there was pretty strong testimony that the site of Halton Castle had been occupied in the Roman period as a fortress.

Mr. Sherington pointed to the fact of the Roman road passing close by the Castle as testimony in the direction indicated.

Proceeding, the party reached Warrington, where they inspected the Museum connected with the Public Library, and a wooden house of great antiquity.

Luncheon was partaken of, soon after two o'clock, in the Lion Hotel, Sir James Picton afterwards giving a sketch of the interesting sights expected on the way. Between Warrington and Winwick they would pass Red Bank, said to have been erected where Cromwell inflicted a decisive defeat on Charles I after Dunbar. At Winwick there was a large boulder-stone commemorating that fact, and called "The Bloody Stone"; but he was afraid that it had been shifted, and that he could not now identify it. At Winwick there was a well called St. Oswald's Well, the water of which was believed to possess great healing virtue, and which was still held in repute.

Leaving Winwick, the party journeyed by way of Newton and Ashton, and arrived at the Borough Courts at Wigan, where they were met by the Mayor and Mayoress (Mr. Alderman and Mrs. Park), Colonel Farington, Mr. Councillor Phillips, Mr. G. L. Campbell, Mr. W. A. Byrom, and Mr. H. T. Folkard, Librarian.

The Mayor exhibited several of the ancient charters of the borough and also the Corporation insignia. His Worship, in the course of a long speech of welcome, said:—"Wigan possesses few relics of the past, although one of the most ancient boroughs of Lancashire. Modern improvements have effaced most of the old buildings. Wigan has been the pioneer of the industries of Lancashire, and her coalfield their mainspring. She is but a hive of industry. The course of the Roman road from Warrington to Preston has been traced through the borough, but no remains have been left of it. Tradition has handed down the story that on the banks of the Douglas, a river passing through Wigan, King Arthur fought one of his celebrated battles, and that the Douglas ran blood for three days. We are proud of our town, we are proud of our antiquity, and further we are proud of our Parish Church, although the building is modern, having been rebuilt in the years 1845 to 1850, on the lines and in the style of the old church. The tower is old, and the base of it supposed to have belonged to the first church; and the Walmesley Chapel was restored only, not rebuilt. This is supposed to be the third church built on its present site, the first being erected on the institution of parochial churches in the time

of Alfred. The chancel contains the Lindsay Chapel, the ancient burial-place of the Bradshaighs of Haigh, and now of the Lindsays. It was here where the stolen body of the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres was re-interred after being found concealed on the estate at Duncecht in Scotland. It contains a monument to Sir William and Lady Mabel Bradshaigh; but it is only a reproduction of their old monument, which, being cut in red sandstone, time had nearly destroyed. In the year 1245 John de Mansel was rector and lord of the manor of Wigan, and procured for the town its first charter from Henry III. In all, eighteen charters have been granted to Wigan. In the past these charters have been very much neglected, and some of them have disappeared altogether; but during the present year they have been restored, and I shall have much pleasure, together with the gentlemen of the Corporation who are present, in showing them to you. One of the oldest relics in Wigan, erected about the year 1350, is the shaft of a cross at the top of Standishgate Street, known as Mab's Cross, and is a memorial of the romantic story of the Sir William and Lady Mabel Bradshaigh whose monument in the Parish Church I have referred to. Sir Walter Scott founded his novel of *The Betrothed* on this story, which he gives in the introduction. A little higher up from this Cross is Sir Thomas Tyldesley's monument, on the site of the battle of Wigan Lane. Wigan was then a strongly fortified and walled town with four principal gates; but all traces of the walls and gates have long since disappeared. The names of the gates, however, are preserved in those of the four principal streets, namely Standishgate, Hallgate, Wallgate, and Millgate. Wigan was conspicuously loyal to Charles I, and to this I shall shortly refer in calling your attention to the charter granted to Wigan by Charles II; and I may here remind you that Wigan was the last town in Lancashire to yield to Oliver Cromwell. The remains of the entrenchments he threw up when attacking the town still exist at the end of Wallgate, and are known as Cromwell's Ditch. The battle of Wigan Lane was fought by Lord Derby just outside Standishgate. He was defeated, and Sir Thomas Tyldesley killed by the Parliamentary troops; hence his monument. Lord Derby sought refuge in the town, and escaped to die on the scaffold at Bolton. Cromwell himself took the town, and dated several of his letters to Parliament from Wigan. The Manor House, close to the Parish Church, is worth a visit as having been occupied by the Pretender during the night he spent in Wigan on his march to Derby. This house contains much curious old oak furniture. Our old Town Hall and Moot Hall have been pulled down for street improvements. We are very proud of our new buildings. Our Free Library, which I especially ask you to visit, is only a few yards from where we are now assembled, and we possess one of the finest collec-

tions of books in the north of England. I may say that the topographical and antiquarian literature is remarkably valuable, the library possessing nearly a complete set of those stately volumes, besides a large collection of other rare and costly works of antiquarian value. The Library Committee have instructed the Librarian to place some of the valuable works on the table for your inspection; and they ask you to visit the Library, to inspect the buildings as well as the books I have alluded to as being of some interest to your Association. Our Royal Albert Edward Infirmary, our new Grammar School and Market Hall, if time permits, are well worth a visit. The Corporation regalia deserves your notice. We have a very ancient mace, date unknown; and also a silver-gilt mace of Charles II, and pronounced to be one of the finest in the kingdom; and an ancient cross-hilted, two-handed sword, date unknown (these are referred to in the charter of Charles II); a silver ewer, date 1631; a silver loving-cup, date 1699; very ancient mayor's staff; silver-mounted stick, date 1702; two ancient halberds, date unknown; silver salver, date 1832; mayor's gold chain and badge, date 1872, presented to the Corporation on the occasion of the visit to Wigan of the Prince and Princess of Wales; and also a fine oak chest presented to the Corporation in the year 1699. I will, in a few words, invite your attention to our ancient charters,—the first, in the reign of Henry III (about the year 1246), granted and confirmed that Wigan may be a borough for ever, and that the burgesses of the borough may have a merchant-guild, with a treasury and other liberties, and free customs to that guild; and no one who is not of that guild shall make any merchandise in the borough of Wigan unless allowed to do so by the mayor and burgesses of this borough. One very important free custom granted to the mayor and burgesses of the borough of Wigan was that they be free throughout the whole land, and through all parts of the sea, from toll, customs, passage, pontage, and stallage, and also to have sak, thol, and theam; and further recites that traders may come into the borough with their merchandise, whether foreigners or others (but not without leave of the mayor and burgesses); may safely come, and be secure, with their merchandise, and safely abide there, and also may safely return therefrom after doing there the right and due customs. It was afterwards confirmed by charter in the reign of Edward II, and again in the reign of Edward III. The latter charter recites that the burgesses of the borough of Wigan may not be convicted by foreigners (this means persons not resident within the borough), but only by their own fellow burgesses; and for the purpose of enabling the burgesses to quietly proceed in their various trades without any interference, it grants the privilege and liberty of being free from serving at any assizes or juries. It is again confirmed in the reigns of Richard II and also by Henry IV

and Henry V. It is afterwards confirmed by charter in the reign of Charles II, which recites: 'Whereas it sufficiently appears to us that our vill or borough of Wigan is an ancient borough, and that the inhabitants and burgesses of that vill or borough are, and from time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary have been, one body corporate, by the name of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Wigan'; therefore it would appear that the body corporate of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses had been in existence long before the charter granted by Henry III. The ancient office of Recorder dates back beyond the time of Charles II. And it is further recited in this charter, 'as a token of the King's royal favour to the borough of Wigan, and for its fidelity to the throne constantly manifested, we do give and grant unto the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of Wigan full power and authority for ever; and it shall be lawful for the mayor and his successors to have, use, and cause to be carried before the mayor of the borough for the time being, one sword of honour in and throughout the whole borough and the limits and precincts at his pleasure'. The charter dated James II recites 'that the borough of Wigan, for time to come, and for ever hereafter, may and shall be a borough of itself.' The same charter also recites that the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses shall have a common seal for doing and managing their deeds. This seal is now used by the Corporation, and bears the date upon it, I believe, of 1602; and the badge, a part of the mayoral chain, is a facsimile of it. As the date of James II's charter is 1685, the grant to use this common seal is doubtless a confirmation of a previous right. This charter further recites and confirms Sir Roger Bradshaigh in the office of mayor; and I may here say that Wigan has had several notables for its mayors, for in the year 1618, William Earl of Derby, and in 1725 and 1734, James Earl of Barrymore, occupied the civic chair of this ancient borough. The same charter gives power to the mayor to appoint sergeant-at-mace, and that the sergeant-at-mace may and can carry a mace within the limits of the borough. It also confirms all ancient customs and privileges, and frees the mayors and burgesses of the borough of Wigan from paying tolls at Chester."

In the evening a meeting was held in the Walker Art Gallery. The Rev. H. H. Higgins occupied the chair. Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read a paper on "The Sepulchral Circle of Stones at Calderstones", contributed by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot., Rhind Lecturer, which has been printed at p. 77.

FRIDAY, 19TH AUGUST 1887.

The excursions yesterday morning commenced with a drive from headquarters to St. Nicholas' Church, Liverpool.

As described by Mr. E. M. Hance, the church dates from the time of Edward III. The city archives contain a document in which the Bishop of Lichfield authorises the burgesses of Liverpool to use the ground belonging to the church as a burial-place. This was during the time of the Black Plague. One of the four chantries of the church was founded in 1335, showing that the foundation itself was of ancient date. The chief objects of interest in the church were the monuments, brasses, and coats of arms. A considerable superficies of land had been reclaimed from the river when the first dock adjacent to the church was being constructed. Part of that reclaimed land was utilised for churchyard extension; but the necessities of commerce had caused it to be recently taken away, after a century of use, the remains of those buried being removed and re-interred.

From this point the company drove to the Waterloo Grain Warehouses, where Mr. A. G. Lyster, son of the Dock Board Engineer, described the admirable arrangements and accommodation for storing grain. The stores comprise flooring to the extent of 11 acres, and a storage capacity of 68,000 tons.

The party, by special invitation, then visited the White Star steamer *Britannic*, in the Alexandra Dock, on board of which Captains Parsell and Hewitt, Commander and Marine Superintendent respectively, received them. Embarking on the Dock Board tender *Hodgson*, and accompanied by Mr. G. Wilson and Mr. Grant, R.N., the members boarded the *Vigilant*, near the Canada Dock, and had a pleasant cruise on the river, with Lieutenant Sweny, R.N., in command of the vessel. A visit was paid to the Cunard Company's steamer *Umbria*, in the luxurious saloon of which Mr. Williamson, one of the Directors, very hospitably offered refreshments to the party.

The party, again betaking themselves to the *Vigilant*, landed at Eastham Ferry, and proceeded to Carlett Park, where the Rev. W. E. Torr, Vicar of Eastham, kindly provided an entertainment of tea and light refreshments.

The company, with their entertainer, soon afterwards visited the village church, which is of considerable antiquity, and possesses some interesting features. One of these is a baptismal font held to be of times anterior to the Conquest; and another, a churchyard yew-tree apparently of extreme old age.

The Rev. W. E. Torr read an interesting paper relative to the history of the parish and the church. At the Norman conquest the manor

of Eastham (then spelt "Estham") stood at the head of the possessions of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, as the most valuable in Wirral. The tithes of it were given by him and his Countess to the newly founded Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, being included in another foundation-charter dated 1093. About 1150 a new church was built at Eastham; but of this nothing was supposed to remain. The church and manor of St. Werburgh were in the hands of the Abbots of St. Werburgh till the dissolution of the Monastery in the reign of Henry VIII; and the church remained for a long time with locked doors, what was done in the way of repairs tending to spoil its architectural features. In the present century, and especially within the past thirty-three years, successive restorations of the building had taken place. The questions he wished to submit to the Archaeological Association were—(1), the date of the church and of the tower; (2), the date of the baptismal font; (3), the original pitch of the roof; (4), the meaning of the inscription, "17 E. R.", under the east window, which had been supposed to mean the seventeenth year of Elizabeth's reign; (5), age of the yew-tree growing in the churchyard, believed to be 1,000 or 1,200 years old. To them there appeared to be no doubt that the yew-tree had been planted before there was any Christian church.

Mr. Brock, replying to the questions, said the tower was a very beautiful and interesting example of architectural work of the early part of the fourteenth century, probably about 1350. It was remarkable in this respect, that while so many churches in that locality had been rebuilt with new towers, the tower of this church and the neighbouring tower and spire of Bebington both retained their original form of the fourteenth century. It was what might be called a "broach" spire added to a very solid tower of the same date. He knew many similar examples in France, but very few in England. With regard to the remaining part of the church, he saw before him, in the nave-arches, evidence of masonry somewhat older than the tower and spire, dating from the thirteenth century, most likely about 1260 or 1270. There they had the peculiarity noticed in Winwick Church on the previous day, the arches on one side being somewhat lower than the other. The probability was that one landowner had erected the arches on one side, and another landowner on the other, and that their respective workmen had built them from slightly different designs. The aisles he looked on as dating from 1480 or 1500. The yew-tree he considered to have been planted just clear of the east end of the original church, which would be of smaller size than the present. In the font they had one of the few Saxon ones remaining in England. Till a few years ago many believed that there were none of these left at all; but here was one, and he believed they would have the pleasure of seeing another in Bebington Church.

Time did not, however, permit of a visit either to Bromborough or to Bebington Churches, and the party returned *via* Tranmere to Liverpool. This was all the more to be regretted because some have conjectured that this place is the site of the battle of Brunanburgh, A.D. 937.

In the evening a *conversazione* took place in the Walker Art Gallery. The visitors were received by the President in his capacity of Chairman of the Library, Museum, and Arts Committee of the Corporation, and his niece, Miss Picton. The Art Gallery and the Picton Reading Room were thrown open on this occasion. The Liverpool Constabulary Band, conducted by Mr. A. P. Crawley, performed a choice selection of music. One pleasing feature of the *conversazione* consisted of a number of photographs (taken by Messrs. Robinson and Thompson, Birkenhead) of the groups of members standing in front of Thurston Hall and Speke Hall, and of various views possessing interest for the Society.

SATURDAY, 20TH AUGUST.

The Congress was brought to a conclusion on Saturday. The programme of the day included a visit to the Free Public Museum, for examination of the Mayer Collection, under guidance of Rev. H. H. Higgins, M.A., and an excursion to Burscough, Ormskirk, Halsall, Lydiate, and Sefton, to inspect churches and ruins.

The Museum is filled with objects of very great interest; but those connected with the locality claim a more prominent position. The urns from Wavertree and the local pottery are of peculiar type, but not well displayed. Here are unrivalled spoils of Kentish Anglo-Saxon graves, collected by Faussett, and published in his *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. The beautifully preserved gold objects of the sixth century, from the burial-ground of St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, possess paramount significance when they are viewed in connection with the history of Augustine, Liudhard, Ethelbert, and Bertha. The Museum does not display many objects found on the Meols shore, so fertile in vestiges of ancient date; but Mr. Charles Potter has made an extensive and representative collection of miscellaneous remains from this site.

After inspecting the contents of the Museum, and especially the remarkable collection of Liverpool ware in the Upper Gallery, the party went by train to Burscough, where carriages were in waiting, and drove to the site of the old Monastery. Mr. James Bromiley, of Ormskirk and Liverpool, had been instructed on behalf of the Earl of Derby to trace the foundation of the ruin, of which little remains above the surface of the mound, which has buried the floors a depth of 3 feet.

The only representation of the ancient edifice believed to be extant, is that on the Convent seal in the possession of the Earl of Derby, and the primary object of the excavations is to enable a ground-plan to be drawn and placed in the archives at Knowsley. The Monastery dated from 1124, and was founded by Robert Fitz-Henry, Earl of Lathom, who died in 1174, for the Augustinian Order. The revenue was £122:5:7. There was the Derby Chantry in the church, where the ancestors of the first Earl are supposed to have been buried; for his will directed that his body should be buried in the chapel where his ancestors lay, and that the chantry priest pray for the repose of his soul. The piscina of the chapel still exists, and Mr. Brock pronounced it to be a beautiful example of its kind. According to some authorities the remains of the Stanleys were removed from this monastic chapel to Ormskirk; but there are no corroborative records, nor is there any conclusive evidence that the bodies of the Stanleys have ever been found at Burscough. One of the objects for which the present excavations were entered upon by Lord Derby was to discover, if possible, a number of marble effigies, sixteen of which are alluded to in the first Earl's will, which directed that some of them should be placed in the chapel, and the others in his own chantry; but no traces of these have so far been found. The excavations, however, have revealed a chalice of the pre-Reformation period, fragments of a costly tiled floor, pieces of stained glass of very early date, and iron and lead-work belonging to the windows.

Mr. Brock stated, from what he saw, that the building was of fourteenth century date. He thought one of the most interesting features revealed by the excavations was the masons' marks which are visible on many of the stones. He suggested that the excavators should open up the site of the chantry chapel in order to indicate its extent, and if possible to ascertain whether or not any interments were made in it.

The visitors, who had been met at Burscough by the Rev. J. E. Woodrow, Rector of Ormskirk, next proceeded to the ancient market-town for the purpose of viewing the fine old church. The Registers, which were open to the inspection of the visitors in the Vestry, are complete from the year 1557. There is also a Norman window which dates from about 1110. The Derby Chapel was built within the church at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, and successive generations have been buried there for the last three hundred years.

Ormskirk Church is a curious and instructive monument which all those who are contemplating the restoration of churches committed to their care should visit. It is a forcible example of the evil attending the commencement of an expensive work without first counting the cost, and without reference to the funds available. After costly works done on about one-third of the church, and a wholesale disturbance in

the rest, the work languishes for want of money, and the result is a typical specimen of ill-advised interference. Here the alabaster effigies and altar-tombs of the Stanleys, the tower, the separate spire, the Norman work in the chancel, the font (dated 1661), and the bells, are special features of interest; but the reference of the name of the place to a "Saint Orm" by one speaker was received with distrust. The church is remarkable for having two steeples, one crowned with a spire. It has been stated that the tower was built after the Dissolution, for the reception of the bells from Burseough Priory. An inscription on the tenor bell bears the date of 1497. The bells rang a merry peal on the arrival of the visitors, who viewed the edifice.

After lunch at the Tarbuck Arms, the drive was continued to Halsall. Rev. Canon Blundell and Mrs. Blundell received the party, the Rector conducting them through the beautiful church, which dates back to the fourteenth century. The church has an octagonal tower crowned with a spire similar to that at Ormskirk, and a projecting wing contains the Free School, which bears date 1591-93.

After leaving the church a call was made at the Rectory, where Mrs. Blundell kindly entertained the visitors with tea and coffee.

Proceeding to Lydiate, the party were met by Rev. Father Powell of the Church of Our Lady. This church contains some beautiful bas-reliefs illustrating the life of St. Catherine, which, with a quantity of stained glass, had been preserved from the ruins of the so-called Abbey. The common opinion relative to the Abbey is that it was intended for a church, but never completed. Father Powell, however, does not agree with this, from the fact that several important discoveries directly tend to show that the building was used as a chapel for the Ireland family of Hale, who were formerly owners of the manor. The property now belongs to Mr. Weld-Blundell of Ince Blundell. The armorial bearings of the Irelands are over the porch, and on the spring of the arch are the initials in stone (all but obliterated by age) of John Ireland, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII. Father Powell intends to have some of the stones lying about replaced, so as to preserve the ruins from further decay. The remains consist of a Tudor chapel with a tower at the west end. It is a detached building, and no other walls or traces of walls exist.

The time at the disposal of the party only permitted of a drive past Lydiate Hall.

Sefton Church, with its elaborate and beautifully carved screen, was finally reached by some of the party, who did not return to Liverpool until long after the time appointed for the closing meeting. The visitors took interest in the Molynex monuments, one dated 1439, and the other 1568, and the effigies of Knights Templars in chain-mail. The

church was well worthy of more attention than the time at the party's disposal enabled them to devote to studying its history in stone.

The late return to Liverpool was made by the Cheshire Lines Railway; some of the excursionists, however, having taken an earlier train from Maghull, in obedience to the programme.

In the evening the final meeting of the Congress took place in the Walker Art Gallery. Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., occupied the chair, and among those present were Mr. E. R. Russell, the Rev. W. Somerville Lach-Szyrma, M.A.; Dr. Bailey; Mr. W. F. Laxton, F.S.A.; and Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A.

The Chairman, after alluding to the enjoyable and, from an antiquarian point of view, successful week they had spent at Liverpool, begged on behalf of the British Archaeological Association to tender his best thanks to the clergy who had accompanied them on their several expeditions, and had given them much assistance in their researches by supplying them with information about various churches; to the public bodies representing the city of Liverpool; to the Managers of the White Star Line and the Cunard Line; to the Dock Board; to the Walker Art Gallery Committee; to the Press; to Sir James A. Picton, Mr. E. R. Russell, and others; and to the Local Committee and its Secretaries.

In seconding the vote of thanks, Mr. W. F. Laxton said the Association were deeply grateful for the valuable assistance of the Local Committee, and especially were they grateful to Mr. Hance, who had given up all his time for their benefit, and had accompanied them on every expedition they had made during the week.

The Rev. W. Somerville Lach-Szyrma acknowledged the vote of thanks to the clergy, and Dr. Bailey responded for the Committee.

Mr. Russell said they all felt great satisfaction in being visited by a body of gentlemen who by their researches in the neighbourhood had rendered valuable service to the people of Liverpool, having thrown light on many matters around which some mystery or doubt had hitherto hung.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, gave a short review of the proceedings of the week, in which he summed up the most salient points of the Congress, contrasting the careful work of preservation at Halsall with the injudicious restorations at Ormskirk; pointing out the neglect of Registers in some places, and the want of better work and of better local arrangement at the Museum, and referring to the importance of preserving the few ancient charters still in possession of the Corporation. He also suggested the advisability of bringing together local antiquities, and putting them in a conspicuous place in the Museum.

MONDAY, 22ND AUGUST.

Monday, the 22nd, as an extra day, was devoted to Chester city. Under the guidance of the Rev. Cooper Scott, Vicar, a visit was paid to St. John's Church, the history of which was explained by Mr. Scott, who said that only a little of the present structure was a fragment of the original building, as it had been founded as a cathedral church of the great diocese of Lichfield, Coventry, and Chester, by the first Norman Bishop, Peter, in 1075. When the Bishop's successor removed to Coventry, the church became a collegiate one, with a dean and seven canons; and at the dissolution of the colleges, the choir was allowed to fall into ruins, and the endowments were taken away. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the parishioners rebuilt the ends of the transepts of the edifice, and preserved what now remained.

The ruins, Anglo-Saxon carved stringcourse in the north porch, Anglo-Saxon crosses, and the early sculptured stones in the crypt, together with the church plate, registers, churchwardens' books, and various inscribed tombstones, were viewed. The great tower of this church fell in 1881, and a remarkable fact connected with the catastrophe was that all the bells were preserved.

The party then proceeded to the Cathedral, where they were met by the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, who conducted them through the building. The modern windows, the choir, and the mosaics on the wall of the nave, were special objects of interest. There are many parts of the old Norman church still existing in the north-west tower, the south aisle, and other places.

At the invitation of the Deputy-Mayor (Alderman C. Brown), the visitors partook of lunch, served in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall. The Deputy-Mayor occupied the chair, and proposed the health of the Association, coupling with it the name of Sir James Picton, President.

In response, Sir James Picton said that, considered from an historical point of view, Chester was unique in its associations. There was no period in English history in which Chester did not come to the front. The antiquities found in the city were very remarkable, and there was no city in the kingdom or elsewhere which was so perfect or complete in its walls. There were many places where the old gates were more complete; but there was no work where the continuity of the walls was so great. The old rows were interesting, and there was no town in England nor on the Continent, as far as he was aware, that presented a similar state of things. In the course of further remarks, Sir James said it had also been a contention among architects, and he supposed would ever remain a mystery, why the rows were constructed.

The toast was heartily received; and after the toast of the Deputy-Mayor had been given, Archdeacon Barber and the Rev. Cooper Scott were thanked for their kindness in assisting the members.

A vital part of the day's proceedings was the introduction of the question whether there was any portion of the city walls of Roman date; and Mr. G. R. Wright, *Congress Secretary*, read a paper which he had received from Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., who maintained that there were portions of the walls, Roman work, *in situ*. This has been already printed at pp. 129-34.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, in the course of his remarks said: Previous to their inspection of what had been revealed by the excavations, a few remarks might be made by him on this great question, and he was anxious to say them now, before inspection, in order that they might have an idea of what they would see. The details he would refer to further on. As a member of the Association he had come to Chester more than a week ago to inspect the wall, and had declined to commit himself to any opinion until he had actually seen the work. It might be asked then, Why did they have excavations made? Did not this point to a foregone conclusion? Well; he came to Chester on the previous Saturday, and soon formed a very decided opinion. In consequence of that very decided opinion he saw that certain excavations would reveal more evidence, and he chose some spots after conference with Mr. Jones. They have since been made, and the results of their visit he hoped would be as decisive to them as they had been to him. This is what was revealed,—that beneath the level of the present walls of the city, and up to a height of from 6 to 10 feet (in some places more), there was so much remaining of a wall built of gigantic stones, some 5 feet, some 4 feet, and some 3 feet long: all large stones, and alike in construction in various positions where excavations have been made,—the north wall, the Roodeye (the west wall), and the Kaleyards (the east wall). In all these alike the great stones were found, and in two places something more. There was found a chamfered plinth which agreed distinctly and clearly with the plinth of the walls of the city of London, which were Roman, and at Richborough, which were also Roman, and it was clear that what was Roman in one case was Roman in the other. But the excavations revealed something more than even this continuity of design. In the breach made not far from the Phoenix Tower, in a space about 10 feet wide, by the thickness of the wall, to the surprise of every one, more than twenty Roman stones had been excavated, bearing inscriptions, while there were cornices, friezes, coping stones, fragments of sculpture, some very remarkable, all of which were Roman. But there was a peculiarity about them which was worth stating. Some present might say, "Is a wall Roman because it is found to be built with

Roman stones?" In reply to that he would say that it would be evident on inspection that several of these Roman stones had been inserted into the wall before they had decayed, which showed that no very long time had intervened between their first use and their second. If examined, it would be found that they had been used in many different buildings, and not in a single one, for no two stones exactly agreed in the patterns upon them. Then there was this further peculiarity. This was a Roman wall; but it might be asked, Could it be so since it was actually not built with mortar? An examination of nearly every one of the moulded stones brought from elsewhere indicated that when in the buildings from which they had been brought, they had been placed originally without mortar. There was, therefore, this piece of knowledge to be added to what they already knew of the Roman works of Chester, namely, that there had been many buildings, tombs or others, in which the stones had been placed without mortar. As these had been erected without mortar in the original buildings, so in the building of the wall which they could now see they were again placed without mortar. They were further told (and this was considered a crucial test) that these walls could not be Roman because the sandstone of the district decayed in three hundred or four hundred years. Now he would show them many of those stones in the wall of evident Roman origin, having Roman tool-marks upon them, arranged according to the peculiar patterns adopted by Roman masons. He had made sketches of stones of eight or more different patterns, and the stones conclusively showed that as they existed some 1,600 years ago, so were they now—still perfect. It had been said that certain stones showed projecting pebbles; and this in stones known to have been put up only a hundred years ago, which indicated, by the pebbles projecting an inch or so from the surface, that the face of the stone had decayed so much in this short period of time. Now he could take them to stones only recently put into a building (some were to be found even in this building, the new Guild Hall), where the pebbles appear in new stones, where the masons have left them projecting. It is their custom, and it does not indicate decay in the stone. And regarding the particular stone which had been referred to as showing the extent in which sandstone would decay, as having its surface cut back by the weather during the past eighty years, he could take them to that stone and show them that, instead of its surface being decayed, it was as it had been left by the masons. But they were told that these walls could not be Roman because, forsooth, they were built outside where the Roman walls were supposed to be. What gave rise to that statement puzzled him completely. In a paper which he had read at Liverpool during this present Congress he pointed out that the principal streets of the city and the walls were all parallel, except at the south-west, which

appeared to indicate harmony of design between the laying out of the city and the course of the walls. This alone, and the analogy with other Roman cities, all of which, except in two instances, had preserved records of the course of their walls, appeared to point to the fact that the walls were likely to be built on the old foundations. This was the sum of what he would have to indicate as they went with him around the walls. They would make their examination with the direct evidence of the excavations, which now revealed more than had ever been seen before; and had such evidence been in existence previously, it is more than probable that many of the statements which had been advanced would not have been so put forth. It would now be for the party to say, Are the walls of Roman date, or are they no later than the time of James I or Charles I?

Many fragmentary sculptures and inscriptions have been gathered up from the vicinity of the walls, and they are now capitally displayed in the Grosvenor Museum. To these must be added, *inter alia*, (1), an inscription found recently, reading

D . M .
M . AVRELIVS . ALEXAND .
PRAE . CAST . LEG . XX .
... NAT ... RV ..
[VI] X . AN . LXXII .
... CES . ET . S ...

(2), a fragment of a shaly Silurian stone bearing Roman letters of elegant form, fully 6 inches long, as clear as when first cut by the mason; (3), a sculptured stone bearing two full-length figures, one of whom wears a cloak and stole-like bands. This has formed the subject of a paper read by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, before the Society of Antiquaries on 8th Dec. 1887, on which occasion the stone itself was exhibited by the kindness of the Chester city authorities. The Roman character of the stone was not called into question.

Subsequent excavations have revealed many more inscriptions and sculptured stones, which have formed the subject of a lecture by Mr. Birch before the Chester Archaeological Society at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on the 19th April. The paper will be published before long.

In the Police Court had been arranged some of the old city records and charters, upon which Mr. Earwaker made some remarks. He said that some few years ago a very full report upon the city records was made by one of the Commissioners for the Historical MSS. Commission, in which it was stated that there were very few provincial cities which possessed records so valuable as Chester did. The total number of charters in possession of the Corporation was sixty-one, dating from the year 1150 to the time of William IV. The char-

ters were granted by the then Earls of Chester (who had almost the powers of royalty), and were of considerable historical interest, as they related entirely to the privileges afforded the citizens. He then alluded to the charters bearing dates at the time of the reigns of Richard I, Edward III, and other kings; to the assembly books of the Corporation, containing records of municipal transactions; and the Mayors' books, which dated back to a very early period. In the year 1556 some worthy people of the city considered it desirable that some of their old records and charters should be translated and copied into a parchment file, on an elaborate scale; and this being done, a great deal had been preserved of the original documents, some of which were now unfortunately lost. There was also a genealogical account of the Earls of Chester, and a valuable collection of autographs. He mentioned that shortly the Corporation of Chester would be approached with a view of seeing whether steps could be taken to print some of the documents which had been exhibited there, and so follow the example of other English Corporations.

Mr. Birch said it was clearly necessary that the descriptions of the charters should be accurate, as he had already detected a mistake in the description of one which had been placed accidentally in his hands. If the charters were printed, it would be the means of obtaining better knowledge of what had been going on in that part of the country from an early period.

Mr. Hance thought the charters should not only be accurately described, but should be printed *verbatim et literatim*.

The party adjourned to the Kaleyards' excavation to observe the huge stones before mentioned, which had apparently been laid upon each other without mortar.

Mr. Brock entered into a detailed description of the bases of the walls at that particular point, and said they were very much like those of the Roman Wall of London. The joints were very close, and he contended emphatically that the lower portion of the walls was Roman work, with the mediæval wall above.

Visits were subsequently made to the excavations near King Charles' Tower, from which position several inscribed stones and cornices had been obtained by workmen who were repairing the walls.

Sir James Picton reminded the company that in the great works of the Romans large square stones were employed, and were very frequently built without mortar. In the great aqueduct at Nismes, built by Augustus Cæsar, the stones were very large, and placed together without mortar.

Mr. Brock said the excavated stones were purely Roman, and seemed to have come from some sepulchral rather than domestic buildings previously to their being placed in the walls.

Proceeding to the Roodeye, Mr. I. M. Jones, City Surveyor, who had accompanied the visitors throughout their journey, pointed out the large stones which he argued were placed there by the Romans. Mr. Brock and several other gentlemen present coincided in that view, and were of opinion that the stones were in capital preservation.

Sir James Picton, addressing the members, said that after what they had seen that day, it had enabled them to arrive at a settlement of the long-disputed question as to whether there was any Roman work in the walls. He took it that the large square stones in the foundation, set without mortar, were undoubtedly Roman; and he thought they were all pretty well agreed upon that. They had found it at the Kaleyards, the northern wall where the cornice was, at the Northgate, and at the Roodeye. In addition to the stones being large and square, they found the quality of them entirely different and perfect. He believed that some of the stones had been taken from the Manley Quarries, and the blood-red stones from quarries nearer Chester. There was little question but that they had discovered the Roman foundation of the walls. They found also that the Roman work did not terminate at the level of the ground, but that it was carried up several courses, supplemented at a subsequent period by more modern work. They had discovered actual Roman foundations; but whether they went all round the city he was not able to say. He hoped their experiences that day would be recorded, so that it might put an end to the idle disputations which had taken place. A gentleman had reminded him that there could be very little doubt but that the Plantagenet water-tower had been removed in consequence of the shrinkage of the river from the walls. That gentleman had also said he believed there was another tower nearer to the walls, of Roman origin.

Mr. H. Sheraton, of Rock Ferry, said he thought that the river Dee had run up to the walls of the city; and near the present water-tower there were evidences of remains of a Roman water-tower. Further than that, he believed they would find in that tower a staircase from the top of it down to the water-tower.

The members concluded their visit to Chester by viewing the Roman and other collections in the Grosvenor Museum, and other places of interest to antiquarians.

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SEPTEMBER 1888.

THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, WIGAN.

BY THE HON. AND REV. G. T. O. BRIDGEMAN, M.A., RECTOR,
AND HON. CANON OF LIVERPOOL.

(Read 18th August 1887.)

THIS is one of the earliest ecclesiastical establishments in the country. There was a well endowed church at Wigan in the days of Edward the Confessor. It is thus mentioned in *Domesday*: "The church of this vill" (that is the great vill of Newton) "had one carucate of land, and St. Oswald of this vill two carucates, exempt from all dues." "The church of this vill" is unquestionably the parish church of Wigan; St. Oswald is that of Winwick.

Wigan is a manor formerly held under the great barony of Newton, and the parsons of the church were lords of the manor from time immemorial. At the time of the compilation of *Domesday*, in 1085-86, it was held by them under the Barons of Newton, who presented to the church as patrons; but in Saxon times they probably held it directly under the Crown.

Whether any stones in this church ever formed part of the original building I am unable to say. The oldest, indeed the only ancient part of the present building is the tower, which is an immensely solid structure, as you may see by looking at the entrance which we made into it from the vestry in order to connect it with what we now use as a choir-vestry. The walls are there 6 ft. 6 in. in thickness. I have no doubt that this tower was in early times used as a kind of fortress for the inhabitants

of Wigan in the time of danger. It is difficult to estimate the oldest part of the tower, which is built of red sandstone, and all the more so because the greater part of it has been at some time encased with stone and cement.

The date of the next church must be looked for in the tower-windows, the arch between the tower and the nave, and those between the tower and the Walmsley Chapel. The chancel was rebuilt in 1622 by Dr. John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, who was also Rector of Wigan at that time; and the rest of the church, with the exception of the tower, was either rebuilt or restored at the same time. Of the work of this period nothing now remains but the lower part of the south turret and the Walmsley Chapel. This latter is a private chapel at the north side of the nave, with a vault beneath it as a burial-place. It formerly belonged to the Gerards, and now to their descendants, the Walmesleys of Westwood. There is an engraving of the church as it then was in Baines' *History of Lancashire*. I have also an oil painting of it in my house, taken in 1827; but all except the tower, the Walmsley Chapel, and the lower part of the south turret, were taken down in the year 1847, and rebuilt, *stone for stone*, as I am informed, under the superintendence of Mr. Paley of Lancaster, the architect, who substituted, however, for the old windows, which were like those in the Walmsley Chapel, some windows of a better style of architecture, and did away with the door at the west end.

To the care taken by the restorers at this time we owe it that the church preserves so much of its ancient character. You may see an instance of this in the niche attached to one of the columns on the north side of the nave. The internal arrangements, of course, were entirely altered at that time, for I can myself remember, when paying a visit to the church long before I was Rector, that it was choked up with galleries on both sides, as also at the west end. Moreover, the altar and, indeed, the whole chancel were almost shut out from view by the organ-gallery, which stood where the rood-screen should be, the passage under the organ to the chancel not being more than 12 ft. high. The vestry was then at the east end of the north aisle, where the organ now stands. The north chancel-aisle, as we may call it, was originally a private

chapel belonging to the Leighs of Lyme, as lords of the manor of Norley in the parish of Wigan. It was made over by Richard Leigh, of Lyme, Esq., in 1682, to the rector and churchwardens of the parish church for a vestry. The present vestry is a modern addition. The south chancel-aisle, corresponding to the Leigh Chapel or organ-chamber, is also a private chapel belonging to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. The family of Bradshaigh of Haigh, which he now represents, had a chapel of their own here from an early date. The original chantry, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, was founded by Dame Mabel Bradshaigh, widow of Sir William Bradshaigh, Knight, in 1338, with the assent of Roger Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Henry Earl of Lancaster, and John de Langton, clerk, then Rector of Wigan. It was endowed with a separate maintenance, and served by independent chantry priests, who were presented by the Bradshaigh family. This chantry was suppressed, and the endowment confiscated, and turned to secular purposes, in the time of Henry VIII. In 1718 a faculty was granted to Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bart., to finish a chancel or private chapel very much, as I believe, where the Bradshaigh or Lindsay Chapel now stands.

The present church was re-opened and consecrated in 1850, in the time of the late Rector, Sir Henry John Gunning, Bart. The present Rector was collated and instituted by Dr. John Graham, Lord Bishop of Chester, on the 17th of October 1864. At that time there were only four stained glass windows in the church, namely, that at the east end, executed by Wailes, and put up by the Hon. Edward Kenyon to the memory of his cousins, the two Misses Kenyon of Swinley, whose property descended to him; 2, the All Saints' window at the west end, also by Wailes; 3, that at the west end of the south aisle, likewise by Wailes, put up shortly before the restoration of the church, and for which the mullions of the window were altered; and 4, the second window from the east, in the south aisle, by Hardman, put up by Henry Woodcock, Esq., to the memory of his first wife.

Of the other stained glass windows, which have all been put up in the time of the present Rector, the first in position from the east in the south aisle, by Hard-

man, was erected in 1866 by the parishioners, in memory of Sir Henry J. Gunning, the late Rector; the third window from the east in the same aisle, also by Hardman, was put up in memory of the late John Woodcock, Esq., by his son, Herbert S. Woodcock, Esq. The window next in order, the St. Christopher window, was put up by Mrs. Scott in 1878, to the memory of her husband, Edward Scott, Esq., and executed by Morris; the next, in memory of Mrs. Egerton Wright, was executed by Lavers and Barraud. The last window in the south aisle, opposite the font, and below the principal entrance, also by Lavers and Barraud, was put up in 1866 by the Rev. F. H. Thicknesse, Vicar of Deane (now Archdeacon of Northampton), in memory of his father-in-law, Ralph Thicknesse, Esq., who died whilst filling the post of M.P. for the borough of Wigan. In the north aisle, the west window, executed by Clayton and Bell, was put up by James Taylor, Esq. The other two windows in the north aisle are also by Clayton and Bell.

The only things that now remain for me to speak about are the monuments. And these are not of any very great interest. The only one, perhaps, that is worth mentioning, besides the Bradshaigh monument, is that of George Hall, Bishop of Chester, who died in 1668. It is situated in the north chancel-aisle. Bishop Hall was also Rector of Wigan, which he held *in commendam* with his bishopric, as did several of his successors, namely, Bishop Wilkins, Bishop Pearson, Bishop Cartwright, and Bishop Stratford. The Bradshaigh tomb in the Bradshaigh Chapel is of greater interest, although, unfortunately, there is very little of the original monument left. It was erected to the memory of Sir William Bradshaigh and Dame Mabel his wife, who was the daughter and heiress of Hugh le Norreys, Lord of Haigh. At the time of the church restoration the old recumbent figures were in a very dilapidated state. The present figure of Dame Mabel is the original, with some slight repair; but the figure of Sir William is new, and is said to be an exact copy of the old one. All the rest of the tomb is new. Roby, in his *Traditions of Lancashire*, gives an interesting story of this knight

and his lady, which is based upon the following extract from the genealogical roll of the Bradshaighs (drawn up in the year 1647, and now in Lord Crawford's possession):—"Sir William Bradshaighe . . . was a great traveller and a soldier, and married to Mabel, daughter and sole heir of Hugh Norres, of Haghe and Blackrode . . . Of this Mabel is a story by tradition of undoubted verity, that in Sir William Bradshaigh's absence (being ten years away in the holy wars), she married a Welsh Knight. Sir William, returning from the wars, came in a palmer's habit amongst the poor to Haigh, who, when she saw, conjecturing that he favoured her former husband, wept, for which the knight chastised her, at which Sir William went and made himself known to his tenants; in which space the knight fled; but near to Newton Park Sir William overtook him and slew him. The said Dame Mabel was enjoined by her confessor to do penance by going once every week barefoot and barelegged to a cross near Wigan from the Haghe whilst she lived, and is called Mab's Cross to this day." I need scarcely remark that the expression "holy wars" must be a poetic fiction, for there were no holy wars of so late a date; but the story has doubtless some foundation in fact; perhaps he may have been taken prisoner in the Scottish wars of that period.

I ought to call your attention to a small upright stone now let into the wall by the window in the tower, which is believed to be a Roman altar. The only other thing that appears to me worth mentioning in the church is the piece of tapestry which now hangs over the south door of the church, and which formerly hung over the altar.

THE LEGENDARY LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

PART II.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read 17th March 1886.)

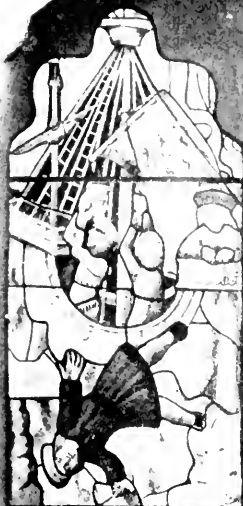
IN the previous portion of this paper¹ I drew attention to the late fifteenth century window at Hillesden,² in Buckinghamshire, filled with stained glass subjects, by an English artist, relating to St. Nicholas. I have now been able to reproduce the design, and it will be found to present interesting points in the life of that Saint which I shall endeavour to explain by means of a remarkable, and, as far as my researches go, unpublished, manuscript poem contained among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, Tiberius, B. V., Part I. This is an illustrated MS. dating from about the period of the Norman conquest of England, or very shortly afterwards. It appears, from additional entries at the end of the volume, to have belonged to Battle Abbey in Sussex, founded by William the Conqueror; and from the occurrence of a list of the Bishops of Ravenna, at f. 22*b*, without any apparent reason for it, we may conjecture that some portion of the volume at least was either written in that city or by a Ravennese member of the new Abbey in the south of England.

St. Nicholas of Myra has little or no connection with Battle Abbey; but there was a priory cell or religious house subordinate to Battle, at Exeter, dedicated to St. Nicholas, which, according to the authorities, also owed its foundation to the Conqueror. That the MS. was at an early period in its history connected with Exeter is clear from an insertion, at f. 75, of the text of a spiritual compact made at that city between parties not specially indicated.

The poem relating to the life and miracles of St. Nicholas is written in rhyming Latin verse. Each line consists of eight feet of two syllables, - -, - -, - -, or - - each, ex-

¹ *Journal*, vol. xlii, p. 185.

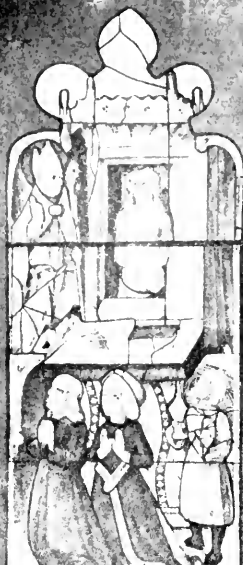
² By inadvertence I wrote "Hillingdon" in the paper there given.



cadit
aque
piscis
lab
piscis
urbolane



alio
flacellat
fuerat
amari
heret



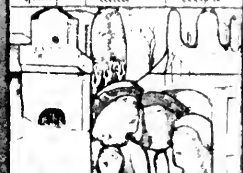
etiam
astra
otat
pro aqua
caphuri
midae



utitur
mida
nobis
fultit
dabo
amari



multitudi
quam
fugam
naue
paul
revert



stingulat
pucum
denou
ferre



que
bona cogit
fuerant
reddere



episcopus
moy
ad
piscis
bitam
urbolane

cept the fourth and eighth, which are *uu*. Elisions are not provided against, and the rhyming appears to be of the *asonant* kind; governed, that is, by the vowels rather than by the syllabic sounds. Thus we find such rhymes as “*provincia*”, “*christicola*” (l. 1); “*sanctissimi*”, “*pontificis*” (l. 2); “*beneficii*”, “*reddidit*” (l. 31), and so forth. Some words usually monosyllabic, such as “*cui*”, “*huic*”, “*jani*”, etc., are treated as dissyllables.

1. The poem begins on f. 74 with the legend following. There is a certain Christian in Lycia who falls from riches to poverty. He goes to a Jew to borrow money, and pledges the altar of the bishop, invoking punishment on himself if he fails to repay the loan. The Jew accepts the pledge, lends the money, and the borrower by its means becomes rich again. Asked to repay the sum lent, he declares that he has already done so. The Jew calls for the aid of Nicholas, and is willing to stand by an oath taken on the altar. The Christian encloses the gold in a hollow staff which he asks the Jew to hold, while he swears he has repaid it. On his way home, in triumph at having outwitted the money-lender, he falls asleep on the road, is run over by a waggon, the wheel of which cracks open the staff, and reveals the hidden coin. The Jew is amazed at hearing of this event, turns Christian, and begs the Saint to restore the dead man to life, which he does, and so earns the love of every one.

The Hillesden window gives no illustration of this tale, nor is there any reference to it in the lections of which I have printed the text in the previous part of this paper.

I.

“ In Litie provincia . fuit quidam Christicola
 Post transitum sanctissimi . NICHOLAI pontificis .
 Hic de multis divitiis . ad paupertatem rediit .
 Cujus pressus miseriis . quendam Judeum adiit .
 Rogans ut aurum misero . accommodaret mutuo . 5
 Unde posset adquirere . victum sine dedecore .
 Tunc Judeus pacifice . dat responsum Christicolæ .
 ‘ Quicquid a me petieris . cito habere poteris .
 Si vis aurum recipere . fide jussorem tribue .
 Vel tale vadimonium . quod sit valens ad debitum .’ 10
 ‘ Nullus est’ inquit ‘ proximus . qui de me sit sollicitus .
 Sed altare pontificis . dabo in loco pigneris .

- Ut si ingratus fuero . et tua non reddidero .
 De me vindictam faciat . quæ omnibus appareat'.
 Dixit Judeus perfido . ' NICHOLAUM non respo 15
 Nam in ejus presentia . nulla latet fallatia'.
 Tali pacto catholicus . aurum recepit callidus .
 Qui in paucis temporibus . effectus est ditissimus .
 Tandem ille qui prestitit . debitorem commouuit .
 Ne diutius differat . reddere quod acceperat. 20
 Ad hæc ille ' quod habui . jam diu est quod reddidi .
 Tu habes et nunc repetis . quasi nondum receperis.'
 Tunc Judeus expalluit . et admirans ingemuit .
 NICHOLAUMQUE invocat . ne hoc inultum sufferat .
 ' Si jusjurandum feceris . super altare presulis . 25
 Quicquid cogor exigere floccipendo amittere.'
 Christianus excogitat . qualiter hunc decipiat .
 Aurum includit concavo . quod debebat in baculo .
 Judeo fraudis nescio . istud aurum cum baculo
 Ad portandum committitur . sicque dum fallit fallitur . 30
 Tali fretus astutia . perjurare non dubitat .
 Ut innocens appareat . et verum est quod dixerat .
 Inmemor beneficii . jurat quod aurum reddidit .
 Quasi victor exhilarat . redire vult ad propria .
 Sed cum venit ad bivium . oppressus somno nimium . 35
 Ire ultra non potuit . suppinus ibi jacuit .
 Per viam ipsam pariter . plastrum ducebant homines .
 Clamant . monent . ut fugiat . ne dormiens intereat .
 Jacet ille culpabilis . velut lapis immobilis .
 Donec rota volubilis ventrem eum ligno conterit. 40
 Tunc apparet dolositas . quæ in ligno latuerat .
 Morsque stulti tam subita . falso jurasse conprobat .
 Advolans fama exiit . aures Judei percudit .
 Nuntians quod acciderat . de morte tam terrificâ .
 ' O NICHOLAE presulum . decus et honor omnium . 45
 Jam diu est quod comperi . te esse servum domini .
 Tua maxima bonitas . atque fortis justitia .
 Compellit me Judaicam . relinquere perfidiam .
 [Et m]odo¹ jam Christicola . fiam per tua merita .
 [U]t possim tecum perfrui . æternæ vitæ gaudiis . 50
 [Se]d precor ut qui merito . migravit ex hoc seculo .
 [H]ujus vitæ restituas . ne corruat in Tartara.'
 [No]n fit inexorabilis . NICHOLAUS mirabilis .
 [A]d vitam functum revocat . qui mox aurum restituit .
 [To]tus mundus hoc audiat . NICHOLAUMQUE diligat . 55
 [Qu]i rectam tenens regulam . nullam amat fallatiam."

¹ Some of the capital letters and first words have been cut off or mutilated by the binder; and in other parts of the poem the letters appear to have been washed out of the MS., which was in the Cotton fire. I have conjecturally supplied in brackets the wanting letters.

II. The second tale is illustrated by the first two lights of the Hillesden window. A rich man is about to visit the Saint's relics, and promises him a fine golden cup. When the cup is ready, the man likes it so much that he keeps it himself, and orders a second; but the workman finds he cannot make progress in the work,—the tools are mislaid, and the gold is too brittle,—and returns the material to his customer, who sets out for his voyage with his family. On the sea the father asks his son to give him a drink out of the golden cup, which slips out of his hand into the sea, and the boy falls over and is drowned. At length the father reaches the relics, and places the rich materials intended for a second cup on the altar, but the Saint pushes them off; and while the bereaved and terrified parent is bewailing his misfortunes, the boy appears with the lost cup in his hand, and relates his adventures when he fell into the sea. The father takes the cup and offers it on the altar before the populace, who are not slow to recognise the work of St. Nicholas in the whole affair.

In the first light the boy is seen falling into the sea with the cup in his hand. “*Cadit puerillus quem mox salvat Nicholaus*”; in the second, the appearance of the boy with the cup at the Saint's shrine,—“*Tunc offert cyphum grates pro munere reddens.*”

II.

“*Quidam pater familias . multas habens divitias .*

[E]rat solitus pergere . ad limina æcclesiæ .

[I]n qua corpus sanctissimi . humatum jacet presulis .

[I]tque quot annis debita . persolvere munuscula . 60

[E]t se facturum vasculum . pollicitus est inclitum .

[I]n h'onore sanctissimi . NICHOLAI pontificis .

[T]andem queritur artifex . doctus in tali opere .

[Q]ui pulere sciat sculpere . auro gemmas inserere .

[U]niones cum jaspide . auro miscet Arabiæ . 65

[I]n Salomonis tempore . vix fuit opus simile .

[P]ractum est vas aureum . cui vis regi congruum .

[L]apidibus circumdatum . mirifice compositum .

[S]e pulchritudo vasculi . oculos dantis illicit .

[T]rahens ad avaritiam . per demonis invidiam . 70

[Q]uod sua sponte voverat . abnegare non dubitat .

[V]ertens ad usus proprios . retinuit dominio .

[R]ursus aurifex queritur . cui aurum committitur .

[J]ubet vas restituere . quod sit priori simile .

- [Et qu]e dat iste recepit . cepto insistens operi . 75
 [L]aborare non desinit . et tamen nichil proficit .
 [In]strumenta deficiunt . naturam perdit obrizum .
 [V]elut vitrum perfragile . gemmæ ruunt ab opere .
 [Ce]rnens magister propriam . nil valere industriam .
 [S]imul in unum colligit . aurum gemmasque reddidit . 80
 Cum prope esset annua . NICHOLAI festivitas .
 Miles iste cum ceteris . navigare disposuit .
 Cum uxore et filio . servos ducit quamplurimos .
 Qui sibi necessarium . adimpleant obsequium .
 Sed cum foret in pelago . pater petit a filio . 85
 Ut predictum vas capiat . sibi que potum tribuat .
 Currens puer quantotius . arripit scipulum promtulus .
 Quem priusquam misenerit . refrigidare voluit .
 Qui cum in aqua tinguatur . de manibus elabitur .
 Sed cum cupit retrahere . simul ruit in equore . 90
 Exclamat pater pueri . suffundens ora lacrimis .
 'De tua morte juvenis . omnino sum culpabilis .
 Te NICHOLAE deprecor . indulge mihi misero .
 Nec vicem tanti criminis . rependas ut promerui .
 Ut quid dixi mendacia . nulla pressus inopia . 95
 Nulla mihi necessitas . incumberebat nec orbitas .'
 Vtcumque lamentabilis . miles ad terram exiit .
 Nota limina repetit . NICHOLAI pontificis .
 Non est ulla facundia . que narrare prevaleat .
 Quantum se accusaverit . vel quam amare fleverit . 100
 Tandem post multas lacrimas . offert ingrata munera .
 Que aurifex reddiderat . nunquam sancto placentia .
 At gloriosus pontifex . indignans tali munere .
 Mox ab altari reppulit . quicquid miles apposuit .
 Tunc res aperte claruit . quapropter infans periit . 105
 Qui tenere non poterat . scipulum quod pater voverat .
 Dum in sacris solemniis . festa peragunt populi .
 Et sua infortunia . plangit pater familias .
 Ecce puer ingreditur . scipulum ferens in manibus .
 Qui corda contuentium . mox convertit in gaudium . 110
 Currit pater exanimis . ruens in collum filii .
 Attonitus præ gaudio . vix potest fari puero .
 Tandem post pia oscula . pater natum interrogat .
 Quomodo se habuerit . quando in unda corruit .
 [I]nfit¹ ille 'cum cecidi . senex michi apparuit . 115
 Venustatis angelicæ . in veneranda spetie .
 [Q]ui ut mater piissima . tenuit inter brachia .
 Michique scipulum tradidit . et dixit 'ne timueris'.
 [Q]ualiter me eduxerit . de tam magnis periculis .
 Egomet ipse nescio . sed mirans adhuc stupeo . 120
 [I]oc unum tamen recolo . quod educto de pelago .
 Ductor ostendit semitam . ducentem ad ecclesiam'.

¹ Folio 55 of the MS.

- [T]unc subito arripuit . scipsum de manu filii .
 Atque libenti animo . offert spectante populo .
 [C]unctis mare currentibus . NICHOLAUS est cognitus . 125
 Cui quasi preposito . vota reddunt ex debito."

III. The third section is also illustrated by the Hillesden window, lights 5, 6. The tale, as told in the following lines, is briefly this. A soldier in the host of the Vandals obtains, with other booty, an image of St. Nicholas during a raid out of Africa into Calabria. This he hangs up on the wall over his treasures, and orders it to watch over them. He sets out on his business; thieves come in the night, and steal all the valuables; the owner returns in the morning, and being enraged at discovering his loss, upbraids and beats the image of the Saint (window, light 5); the Saint thereupon pays the thieves a visit, and so terrifies them that they quickly return the stolen goods (light 4). The owner is delighted, becomes a Christian, and builds a church in honour of the Saint. Perhaps light 6 also refers to this tale, as the same figure of the "Wandal" is seen in each.

III.

- "[V]andalorum exercitus . ab Africanis partibus .
 Causa predandi exiens . ad terram Calabritidem .
 [P]assim per agros homines . depredantur et pecudes .
 [E]t quisquis prout potuit . optima quaque rapuit . 130
 [U]nus sancti imaginem . NICHOLAI inveniens .
 Quam ne viderent socii . in sinu suo contegit .
 [E]t quia pulchre fuerat . et decenter composita .
 Sepius illam visitat . et ejus sit interrogat .
 [Ch]ristiani mirabilem . intuentes imaginem . 135
 Dicunt ' hæc est notissima NICHOLAI ichonia .
 [S]i in Deum crediderit quisquis eam habuerit .
 Securus sit quod omnia . venient sibi prospera' .
 [V]ir iste de quo loquimur . erat telonearius .
 Multis habundans opibus . nondum tamen catholicus . 140
 [Q]ui reversus in proprio . dum sederet ospitio .
 Vestes et quicquid habuit . in aperto exposuit .
 [I]n pariete desuper . NICHOLAUS appensus est .
 Cui jubet ut omnia . fideliter custodiat .
 [H]ic comme'n'dat imagini . quasi viventi homini . 145
 Hinc securus ad alia . profectus est negotia .
 [P]er noctem fures veniunt . qui omnia diripiunt .
 Preter solam imaginem . tollentes suppellectilem .

- [S]ummo mane vir remeat . qui res suas commiserat .
 Quas tristis cum non invenit . imaginem arripuit . 150
- [D]icens ‘ NICHOLAE tuam . male vidi custodiam .
 Quia fidum te credidi . omnia mea perdidi .
- [T]estor deos et omnia quaecumque colo idola .
 Si mea non reddideris . subjacebis incendiis’ .
- [H]æc dicendo acerrime . statuam cedit undique . 155
 Ac si sentire valeat . illata sibi vulnera .
- [P]ostquam se vindicaverat . nec illa contra murmurat .
 In pariete collocat . de quo ante pependerat .
- [I]nde sanctus ad vesperam . NICHOLAUS rememorans .
 Quanta illius statua . perpessa est obprobria . 160
- [P]ergit ad diversorium . quo latrones conveniunt .
 Ut inter se distribuant . quod per furtum abstulerant .
- ‘ [O] vos’ ait ‘ fureiferi . quid est quod hic dividitis .
 Pro vestris latrociniiis . afflictus sum injuriis .
- [D]e vestro patrimonio . non est istud quod video . 165
 Nam in mea custodia . hæc fuerunt reposita .
- [N]e per meum indicium . incurratis periculum .
 Et publicem vos omnibus . reportate quantocius’ .
- [S]ic locutus disparuit . latronibus exterritis .
 Mox omnia restituunt . ne incurrant periculum . 170
- [M]ane teloneario consurgente de lectulo .
 Illum locum revisitat . in quo sua perdiderat .
- [S]ed cum venit ad hostium . repperiens quæ sua sunt .
 Nemo fari sufficiet . quam alacer effectus est .
- [P]re gaudio tripudiat . cuncta respuens idola . 175
 Christianus efficitur . quo nichil est salubrius .
- [San]cto per ejus meritum . hoc accidit miraculum .
 Fabricavit ecclesiam :’ mirifice compositam .
- [S]emper ex illo tempore . NICHOLAUM gens Affrice .
 Pre omnibus provinciis . miro amore coluit . 180
- [N]on est in omni seculo . Christianorum regio .
 Ubi non sunt ecclesie ejus nomini deditæ .
- [C]ujus nomen sit occupat . omnes terras et maria .
 Ejus sit intercessio . nobis criminum demptio.”

IV. The fourth portion goes back to the infancy of the Saint,—his abstinence, as already set forth in the *Lectio Prima* (Part I of this paper, p. 198), his timely help of the three maidens,¹ the saving of the sailors in a storm, the miraculous increase of the corn (a subject also shown on the Hillesden window, light 3), the detection of the inflammable liquid or oil already described in Part I, p.

¹ Compare the illuminations of the Saint giving money through a window, in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29,704, f. 36; 25,697, f. 257b. For a full list of the numerous illuminations relating to St. Nicholas, see Birch and Jenner's *Early Drawings*, p. 235.

188, and explained at length by the Ven. Archdeacon Hannah, D.D., in his paper on the Brighton Font.¹ Then follows a long account of the three youths, of whom one is named Arpileon,² condemned to death, but saved by the Saint's intervention.³

IV.

- “Cœli letentur ordines . congaudens tellus jubilet . 185
 Pro beati piissima . NICHOLAI memoria .
 Qui in ætate tenera . pendens ad matris ubera .
 Ostendit abstinentiæ . exemplum memorabile .
 Quarta cum sexta feria . mammotreptus dum fuerat .
 Semel lactatus ubere . vitabat ultra tangere . 190
 [P]ost mortem patris unicus . hæres remansit filius .
 Qui suum patrimonium . vertit in usus pauperum .
 [V]icinus huic aderat . qui habebat tres filias .
 Quas fornicari statuit . licet fuisset nobilis .
 [H]unc miserum artaverat . tanta panis inopia . 195
 Quod pauper factus vivere . volebat cum dedecore .
 [S]ed caritate fervidus . NICHOLAUS juvenculus .
 Extinxit illud vitium . per trinitatis numerum .
 [N]ondum factus episcopus . auro dato virginibus .
 Fugat patris infamiam . et filiarum reprobam . 200
 [T]alibus beneficiis . indolis tantæ juvenis .
 Divinitus promeruit . presul prepotens fieri .
 [E]x hinc nautas in æquore fractos adverso flamine .
 Seque vocantes visitat . dum loquerentur talia .
 ‘[N]ICHOLAE si vera sunt . quæ de te plures referunt . 205
 Succurre nobis citius . ne obruamur fluctibus’ .
 [P]re timore periculi . clamantibus apparuit .
 Quem invocant se indicat . NICHOLAUM se nominat .
 [A]ntemnis et rudentibus . et armamentis pluribus .
 Postquam manus injeceerat . tumida placat æquora . 210

¹ *Journal*, vol. xlii, p. 29.

² Wace calls these three “juvenes” *Counts*,—

“Trois *contes* mist fors de prison
 Qui ierent pris par traison.

... ..
 E li dui conte aveient nou
 Nepocien, Arpilion,
 E li tierz Hors; tuit troi a tort
 Estoient la jugié a mort.”

(In *Maistre Wace's St. Nicholas*, ed. Dr. N. Delius, Bonn, 1850, p. 16.)

³ See Part I, pp. 187, 188.

- [N]aucleri Alexandriae . obstupuerunt valide .
 Cum farris abundantiam aspicerent superfluum .
 [D]emetientes integra . mensura reddunt pondera .
 Preter illud quod habuit . NICHOLAUS ut petiit .
 [H]oc revelante pessimae . patuerunt insidiae . 215
 Quas Diana fantastico . mittebat pro munusculo .
 [D]eferentes ut jaciunt . in mare maleficium .
 Velut fornax exaestuât . et quicquid tangit concremat .
- [T]res juvenes innocii . morte fuerunt dediti .
 Quos liberavit validam . solutos per potentiam . 220
 [C]onstantinus non multum post . captos tenebat alios .
 Sed quod a morte eruit . dicam qualiter accidit .
 [S]uperba gens de frigida . regi negabat debita .
 Ad quam digne reprimere . tres duces jubet pergere
 [S]ed cum redirent prospere . hoste devicto robore . 225
 Aliqui per invidiam . invenerunt fallaciam .
 [M]entiti sunt quod socii . Arpileon et ceteri .
 Reges volebant fieri . ablato regno Cesari .
 [T]ante capud malitiæ . fuit corruptus munere .
 Prefectus . cujus fraudibus . traduntur in carceribus . 230
 [P]ost hæc jubet rex presidi . innocentes interimiri .
 Ne simili superbia . aliquis tale faciat .
 [C]arcerali custodiæ . notæ fiunt insidiæ .
 Noctu patrantur omnia . sicut iudex preceperat .
 [C]ustos audito funere . venit ad clausos carcere . 235
 Sed non valet abscondere . quia defluunt lacrimæ .
 [I]lli videntes pallidum . custodem preter solitum .
 Si quid de se audierat . attoniti interrogant .
 ‘[S]ilete’ inquit ‘juvenes . de vobis totum factum est .
 Nam vitæ vestræ terminus . appropinquabit citius . 240
 [D]e vestra morte callidum . iudex dedit consilium .
 Preparans ut vos perimat . antequam lux appareat .
 [Q]uia planctus et lacrimæ . nequeunt vos redimere .
 Virtus vobis altissima . in hac nocte subveniat’ .
 [Q]uis enarrare valeat . quanta fuit tristitia . 245
 Quæ in eorum cordibus . versabatur interius .
 [S]ed cum nemo mortalium . dare posset auxilium .
 Nec fieret effugium . evadendi periculum .
 [R]edit ad memoriam . quando mare transierant .
 Quod NICHOLAUS viderant . cui se commendaverant . 250
 [I]ccirco hunc pre omnibus . orant in suis precibus .
 Ut qui alios liberat . servos suos non negligat .
 [E]adem hora concite . fidus suorum opifex .
 Constantinum interrogat . utrum dormit an vigilat .
 [Q]uo sciscitante ‘tu quis es . qui sic ad me ingressus es’ . 255
 Sanctus respondet ‘Litæ . NICHOLAUS sum pontifex .
 [C]ompatiens hue veneram . stratilates ne pereant .
 Quos ne tangas precipio . nisi vis mori subito .

- [S]cias quod rex fortior te . bellum movebit contra te .
 Cujus forti victorie . non valebis resistere . 260
- [S]i ad pugnam exieris . et cum eo te junxeris .
 Victus eris et mortuus . eo quod es incredulus'.
- [P]ostquam regem terruerat . otior vento advolat .
 Et durius exterritat . qui eos accusaverat .
- ‘[I]mpie latro proditor . digne exitu misero . 265
 Pro tua avaritia . recipies supplicia .
- [C]onsumptus eris vermibus . veluti canis putridus .
 A te fetente longius . fugiet omnis populus .
- [S]ed hac vice propitias . tuis parcam sceleribus .
 Si penitens extiteris . de hoc quod male egeris’ . 270
- [Q]uo audito prepositus . de lectulo exentitur .
 Pavefactus per tenebras . venit ad fores regias .
- [A]ntequam preces venerat . imperator surrexerat .
 Minasque sibi plurimas . furibundus intorserat .
- [I]lle verbis pacificis . regem placare studuit . 275
 Excusans se de crimine . captos jubet adducere .
- [Q]ui statim regi traditi . mortem expectant pavidi .
 Gemunt sudant formidine . non putant ora vivere .
- [I]nterrogat rex milites . ‘NICHOLAUS his ubi est .
 Qui pro sua clementia . velim nolim vos liberat’ . 280
- [A]d notum nomen presulis . exclamant fuis lacrimis .
 Tollunt manus ad sidera . laudant Dei magnalia .
- [R]espondentes ‘in Licia¹ Mirreorum est civitas .
 In qua pontifex² habitat . quem dominus glorificat .
- [D]e illius prudentia . ac forti pacientia . 285
 Nusquam vidimus hominem . tam bonum nec tam humi-
 lem .
- [P]re cæteris virtutibus . quarum nullus est numerus .
 Fulget in eo caritas . que omnium est maxima .
- [C]ujus orationibus . non simul commendavimus .
 Quando navali prelio . fuimus contra barbaros . 290
- [V]bi prout potuimus . fideles tibi fuimus .
 Nam parva manu militum . plures vicimus hostium .
- [Q]ui rebelles extiterant . et sedari³ vix poterant .
 Subjectos tibi fecimus . et mitiores ovibus .
- [P]ro talibus serviciis . ad mortem sumus traditi . 295
 Nisi Deus nos eruat . per NICHOLAI merita .
- [Q]uis habuit tam ferreum . pectus . vel cor lapideum .
 Quod non molliret pietas . humanitatis gratia’.
- [Q]ui presentes astiterant . continere non poterant .
 Multis excussit lacrimas⁴ . militum eloquentia . 300
- [J]am tandem rex placabilis . juvenes jubet indui .
 Reparans amicitiam . quam primitus habuerant .

¹ “illicia”, with *l* expuncted, and *n* over line. (MS.)

² “Nicholaus” expuncted, and “pontifex” over line. (MS.)

³ “se dari”. (MS.)

⁴ “tenebras” expuncted, and “lacrimas” over line. (MS.)

- [I]nde ait 'munera . ex parte mea plurima .
Ferte sancto pontifici . de quo tanta loquimini .
- [I]n verbis ejus comperi . quia non estis perfidi . 305
Sed suo testimonio . fideles in servicio .
- [V]alde Deo est proximus . NICHOLAUS episcopus .
Per quem tanta miracula . ostenduntur per secula .
- [Q]uod vivitis et sapitis . quod facti estis liberi .
Totum illius bonitas . fecit atque elementia . 310
- [A]fferte sibi munera . textus atque candelabra .
Quæ in mei memoria . suscipere non renuat .
- [E]go et mei filii . sui erimus famuli .
Pro quibus Deo supplicet . nec ultra me terrificet' .
- [S]ic alacres cum munere . naves ascendunt concite . 315
NICHOLAO in Litia . grates reddunt innumeras .
- [T]erra marique novimus . NICHOLAUM pre omnibus .
Succurrere quantocius . cunctis se invocantibus .
- [D]um sumus in hoc seculo . postulemus a domino .
Vt hujus sancti precibus jungamur cælestibus." 320

v. The concluding portion, on another leaf (folio 77), is a *résumé* of the life of the Saint, with especial notice of the capture of the relics and of the remarkable balsam or "manna" which distilled from the relics. A very graphic account of this event by John, Archdeacon of Bari, is given by Ordericus Vitalis. It took place on the 9th of May A.D. 1087, and this poem is not very far from that date in point of composition.

V.

- [D]icamus Deo gloriam . per cujus providentiam .
NICHOLAUS fit prior . quam foret ab initio .
- [H]inc defleat gens Græciæ . et finitimi Asiæ .
Myrreque præcipue . Quæ tanto caret hospite .
- [H]ujus fecit offensio . Ne 'h'aberet in proximo . 325
Patronum tantæ gratiæ . Nec talis excellentiæ .
- [P]acis amator extitit . Dum in seculo floruit .
Post transitum pacificos . Semper diligit populos .
- [F]ugit Turcos et Pincenas¹ . Scilicet gentes pessimas .
Quæ creatori omnium . Nullum reddunt officium . 330
- [V]alde Deo amabilis . Urbs Uarensis² prænervit .
NICHOLAUM cum gaudio . Suscipere ospicio .
- [U]arenses² et Uenetici . Cum navibus firmissimis .
Sepe transeunt maria . Mercationis gratia .

¹ A tribe on the north of Turkey, called Pecinaci, Patzinacitæ, and by other somewhat similar names. See Spruner's Hand-Atlas, 1880, map 79. They came into notice in the eleventh century, moving down from the north-east to the shores of the Black Sea.

² *I.e.*, Bari.

- [M]odo nostris temporibus . Plenis frumento ratibus . 335
 Post Myrrea provinciam . Venerunt Antiochiam .
 [F]arribus ibi venditis . Divinitus admoniti .
 Invenerunt consilium . Nutu Dei dispositum .
 [E]t redeuntes tumultum sancti frangant marmoreum .
 Cum instrumentis ferreis paratis huic operi . 340
 [P]er voluntatem domini et auxilio presulis .
 Intraverunt ecclesiam ut facerent quod dixerant .
 [C]ustodes ibi quatuor inventi sunt in atrio .
 Qui extrahunt peniculo liquorem more solito .
 [H]i putantes quod solita vellent offerre munera . 345
 Non dubitant ostendere quicquid volunt inspicere .
 [T]unc unus e Uarensibus . Audax et fortis viribus .
 Ferreum ferens malleum . De quo percussit tumultum .
 [E]x quo ictu per plurimas . partes scinditur tabula .
 Et odoris flagrantia . Exit tam suavissima . 350
 [E]t quasi essent positi . In paradiso domini .
 Nullam sperabant alteram . Post hanc futuram gloriam .
 [H]inc thesaurum arripiunt . Excellens omne pretium .
 Impellunt rates pelago . vela dant ventis subito .
 [P]rospera navigatio . Letos perduxit socios . 355
 Qui corpus venerabilis deferebant pontificis .
 [Q]uidam nauta desidiis . per somnium est monitus .
 Cui dixit 'ne paveas . quia strenue navigas .
 [C]ursui tuo terminus . herit dies vicesimus .
 Interea in pelago . nulla fiat commotio' . 360
 [U]t dictum est sic accidit . Sanctus ad ripam exiit .
 Cui gaudens Apulia . Tota concurrat obvia .
 [M]iraculorum copia . facta per ejus merita .
 Commovet voluntarium . De toto orbe populum .
 [D]ives et pauper properat . Qualiter locum videat . 365
 Ubi sanantur languidi . Tacti liquore olei .
 [C]onites et episcopi . Abbates et presbyteri .
 Et omne genus hominum . Currunt ad sanctum tumultum .
 [A]estas hiems et maria . non retardant itinera .
 Peregrinorum hospitum . Ad ipsum concurrentium . 370
 [S]it grata remanantium . Devotio fidelium .
 Xristo qui suum famulum . facit ubique cognitum .
 [T]e NICHOLAE petimus . ut qui ire non possumus .
 Simus bonorum omnium . Participes euntium . 374

AMEN."

Wace, in the work already referred to (see p. 229, n.), gives a long French metrical narrative relating to the last two lights of the Hillesden window. There is a man of Lombardy of good character, a votary of the Saint, who goes with his wife to church to celebrate the

Saint's day, leaving only his son at home. The Devil, disguised as a beggar, appears to the boy, and on being asked whence he comes, and who he is, gives a very cleverly composed but prevaricating account of himself.

“Jo sui de mult luintein país.
 Nus hom vivant n'i pervendrait
 La dunt jo sui, ja tant n' irroit,
 Od un roi en sa meson,
 Avuec moi oi un compaignon”, etc.

He then proceeds to ask for food; but

“Quant li enfes out aporté
 Le pein que cil out demandé
 Li diables vers lui ala,
 Si'l prist, s'il traist, si l'estrangla.
 Puis li dist: ‘n'ai suin de mengier.
 Mes la gent faire trebuchier
 Ceo est mes deliz e ma viande,
 Mis quers nule autre ne demande”, etc.

A great commotion arises when the catastrophe is discovered; but St. Nicholas appears at the door as a pilgrim during the funeral feast, is taken up to the chamber where the dead boy lies, and restores him to life, to the great joy of every one.

“Li enfes sun pere apela,
 Lieve sus, sa mere enbracea
 Seint Nicholas s'esvanui
 Que nuls ne'l vit ne uel' senti.”

In the *Records of Buckinghamshire* (vol. iv, 1875, p. 320) the reader will find some further interesting particulars relating to this window, with notes of the events in the life of St. Nicholas, derived from sources not wholly agreeing with the account given in the preceding pages.

ON A SCULPTURE FOUND IN LONDON.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P.

(Read 16th February 1887.)

THE limits of Roman London have been laboriously and accurately defined by Mr. Roach Smith. We know how stood the wall with towers of Constantius, strengthened in after years by the bulwarks of Theodosius. And very probable it is the roll and roar of modern life pass above, but yet on, the old lines of Roman *vici*; Cannon Street West, Leadenhall Street, Cornhill, Cheapside, to the western port or the postern which guarded the entrance to the City from Holborn, are examples. We, however, should like to learn much more of the internal arrangements of the City—the character and situation of its houses, its centered trade-resorts, baths, circus, *prætorium*, and such like. Probably, as in old Rome, the mean and elegant were near neighbours, and modern arrangements prove indifferent instructors and failing aids. The labours of the spade and pickaxe enlighten with many an interesting revelation, telling that the glass house, with its smoke, stood close to the Roman villa or house now covered by Barclay's Bank. In that deep excavation I had opportunity for observation. The Roman building had been a square, apparently looking northward, for here were remains of chambers with really frescoed walls. Southward were the servants' quarters, with ashes, coal, and exuviae, and one or two amphoræ found *in situ*. A plated coin of Otho was picked up, and also the highly coloured glass bulb of an *unguentarium*, and a fine lamp. The *compluvium* appeared to have been utilised as a garden-plot, the centre holding a mass of loam. The front of the house must have faced the gentle rise of our Cornhill, leading up to the (supposed) *prætorium*, with its buildings, or perhaps have looked across to the wide bed and clear current of the Walbrook. This stream, entering the City from the north, struck down to where the London and West-

minster Bank, Lothbury, now stands, passing the site of St. Margaret's Church, bending towards Grocers' Hall, crossing Queen Victoria Street, and debouching at or near Barge Yard in the Thames. In 1866 or 1867 I saw, in Lothbury, the Walbrook still trickling at a depth of some twenty-seven feet, and excavations have served to show the stream must have been of considerable width and velocity. On the eastern bank was unearthed, in 1869, the beautiful tessellated floor now in the Guildhall Museum. On that floor lay indications of a home destroyed by fire, and the articles of luxury or use now exhibited were found in its immediate vicinity. If we receive the destruction of this Roman city by fire in A.D. 60 as historical, possibly this building might be referred to the first century; hence, we may gather an idea of the excellence, finish, and art of the Roman homes of Londinium at that early date. Certainly, indications of a great and early conflagration in Roman London are prevalent on the lines of Cornhill and Lombard Street. Under the latter, and next the very shingle, is a deep bed of red dust, burnt wood, and Samian and tile, mingled with melted glass vessels, the *débris* of a great calamity fallen on a civilised and thickly planted community.

It is said of Julius Cæsar, that one of the necessities of his camp appeared to be tessellated pavements. If so, why should such art appear strange in the case of Roman colonists? and if pavements, why not the adornment of a Roman home by the arts of painting and sculpture also?

All this may be inferred by the finding of the beautiful sculpture before you, within the bed of the Walbrook, and on its eastern boundary, that is where more than one villa had been erected with a garden perchance falling to the margin of the clear, swift-flowing, and appreciated Walbrook. It is not too much—certainty of uncertainty—that this white marble, wrought to features sweetly excellent, may have adorned an *atrium*, or was perchance affectionately enshrined in some inner sanctuary. It appears to be a portrait, the fixed resemblance of the daughter of the house; you will notice how natural, how devoid of all artificiality

are the lines of this portrait. But of whom? Of a Greek? No. A Roman girl? No. The hard stern lines in the marble head of a Roman girl exhibited and published in 1857 are absent. There are here the soft lines of British life. She may have been the offspring of a Romano-British marriage; such unions were contracted, as in the union of Pudens and Claudia; and the limited civilisation of the Briton found an energetic union with the grander civilisation of Rome. Virgil mentions the beauty of the British slaves at Mantua, and we recall the exclamation of the great Gregory on beholding the beauty of British children in the Roman Forum. The comparison of feature in the head of 1857 with that of 1887 will, I think, determine in favour of the Romano-British theory.

The cultivation of art was not indigenous with the Romans. Their aggressive, martial, cruel spirit forbade it. Their early art efforts were made through Etruscan influences, the lines of their earlier sculptures being defined, hard, firm, thick, and wanting in expression of easy grace. But the subjugation of Greece—Corinth and Syracuse—opened to Roman receptivity the intellectual spirit of Greek art, mingling with and making Roman art what it became in the age of Hadrian and the Antonines. This receptivity began immediately on the capture of Athens by Scylla, the victory of Scipio over Antiochus, and of Æmilianus over Perseus. It is traceable in the beautiful coin-reverses and medallions of Augustus, especially that of the victory of Actium, and ended in making Rome the storehouse of Greek art, and the villa of Hadrian of all that was its choicest and best; and not so only, but Greek sculptors removed to Rome, exercising their art, and communicating and establishing their influence. Of the first century we have preserved the names of some Greek artists then known and resident in Rome: Praxiteles of Calabria, Colotes, Arcesilaus, and Evander. Some of these, as Cellini in a later age, wrought in metal also, as in stone. Artists sculptured amber or ivory, creating living beautiful forms, from which the glass could develop but new beauties and few defects. They wrought in grey Peperino Travertine stone, the alabaster of Volaterra or Egypt, with its

deep-coursed veins, and the white marble of Greece, yielding a clear and ivory-like surface. M. Carrey discovered, on the banks of the Loire, some ancient marble quarries, and one in particular, of white marble, known by the name of Vaudelet. It is not so fine or white as Carrara, but it possesses grain, colour, hardness, and many of the qualities of Parian. It is probable this quarry furnished material for statuary discovered in France, and remains of art in Britain also.

There are two busts before you : Scipio Africanus, in pale alabaster, found in Cannon Street, and—may I call it—“The Claudia”, wrought in a white marble. It would lead to the most interesting and almost certain result if this marble could be identified with Vaudelet, that this lovely face was wrought in Roman Britain. The most perfect representation of the human form, as we all know, came from the hand of Praxiteles. The canons of Greek sculpture teach—the forehead and lips must touch a perpendicular line. Especially in pourtrayals of the young, the brow and nose forming a nearly straight line, imparting an expression of grandeur and delicacy. The forehead rather low than high, the eyes not prominent, so that to the brow a finer arch might be given, and by its shadow a bolder relief, the sharp projection of the lid partly shadowing the eye itself, and giving the light and likeness of life. Small eyes, except in statues of Juno, whose eyes are full, were given to young and beautiful faces, imparting a languishing and engaging air. The upper lip was generally short, the lower more full, as adding expression of rotundity to the chin. The lips closed, the ear carefully modelled and wrought, the face oval, and the hair wavy.

These canons obtain in the sculpture on the table, and fully justify the opinion of our valued Curator, the artistic acumen of our Vice-President, Henry Syer Cuming, and other connoisseurs, that this beautiful head indubitably displays the strong influence of Greek art and that of the first or second century. As with fashion in later days, so in Roman times, the dressings of the head varied from severe simplicity to intense luxury and display; from nature's flowing braids, to hair frizzled or close, with numerous curls running over the head, to gigantic stories

of curls fixed by long hairpins (*crinalis acus*), and so absorbing became the toilet study of ornament by Roman women, that the satirist expressed it by two words—"mundus muliebris".

That "history repeats itself" is trite enough; but it is well to remember the extravagancies of head-dress in the reigns of William III and the Georges were really nothing new, but rather the revival of the false taste of the earlier centuries of the Christian era and waning years of the empire of the Cæsars. I am far from referring to the long hairpins found in London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries only; many doubtless belonged to the second and third centuries, and these also now exhibited. But engaging simplicity belongs to nature only, and a truly natural face could only bear without prejudice the adornment of its natural tresses, and in this there would be found more than beauty—the majesty of simplicity. Hence the majestic bust of Juno, from the Villa Ludovici, has only its naturally flowing braids surmounted by a diadem; the head of the younger Faustina has the flowing hair without the diadem, and natural adornment seems to have prevailed with the female youth of Rome in the first and part of the second century; and so in the marble head from the Thames exhibited 1857, and this one, our Claudia. Over this face the hair is parted down the middle to the forehead, whence wavy tresses are carried in thick, natural, floating braids over each temple, leaving the ears exposed, and fastened behind with extreme simplicity.

Enough! It may be well to note how few perfect sculptures have been yielded from London: the shield-ing river has given marbles and bronzes; Goldsmiths' Hall holds the altar of Diana,¹ with sculpture of almost Etruscan type, some two or three other broken fragments, and the mutilations now in the Guildhall Museum. As at Verulamium, a mistaken religious fanaticism may have consigned all figures to destruction; some tossed

¹ In August 1869 was found, near the Cheapside end of Aldersgate Street, a female skeleton with two bronze *armillæ* on the shrunken arm, and a bronze finger-ring with the emblem of Diana, the crescent moon.

into the Thames or Wallbrook; some broken to fragments, and cast beyond the City walls. We may be thankful the ooze of a native stream has so well and jealously preserved this lovely presentment of a Romano-British girl, who once, doubtless, was the brightness and life of a London Roman home, and who lives again in engaging modesty and simplicity.

In assigning a date for this art influence we would, as with "a missing link", but too gladly recognise and indissolubly join with this sculpture the name of Claudia, the British lady-wife of the worthy Pudens.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CROFT.

BY J. P. PRITCHETT, HON. SECRETARY TO THE DARLINGTON
CONGRESS.

(*Read 7th March 1888.*)

DURING the Congress of the Association in 1886, the members visited the ancient and interesting church of St. Peter at Croft, which, though not in the county palatine of Durham, is as near to it as it is possible to be, as its fence walls are washed by the river Tees, which forms the boundary between Durham and Yorkshire.

At that time no arrangement had been made for a paper or description of this church, so that remarks of a casual nature only were made by members on the salient points that presented themselves. Having, however, been lately engaged in building a vestry and organ-chamber to the church, and having generally an hour or so to spare between train times on my visits, I have looked into its history as written on its stones, and finding it more interesting than I had any idea of, I thought a short paper might be welcome to the members of the Association generally, but especially to those who visited the place in 1886.

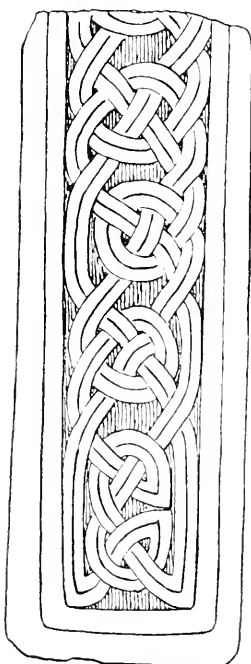
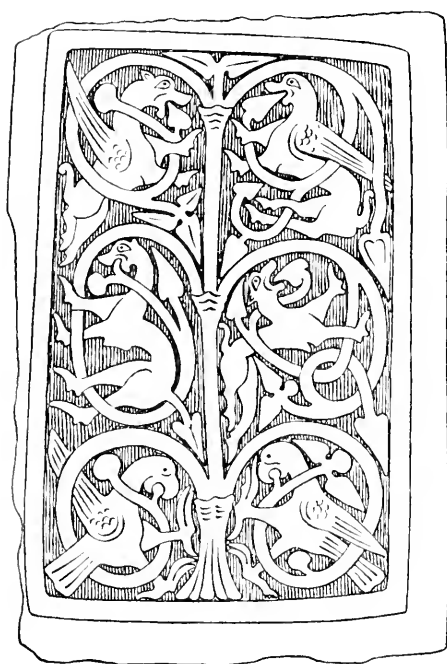
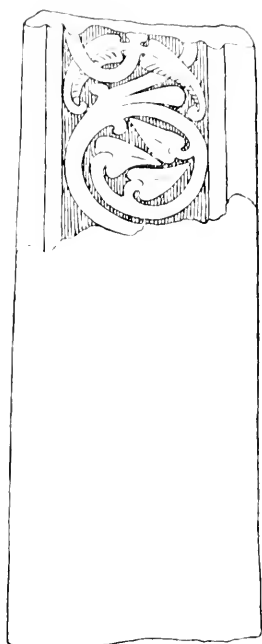
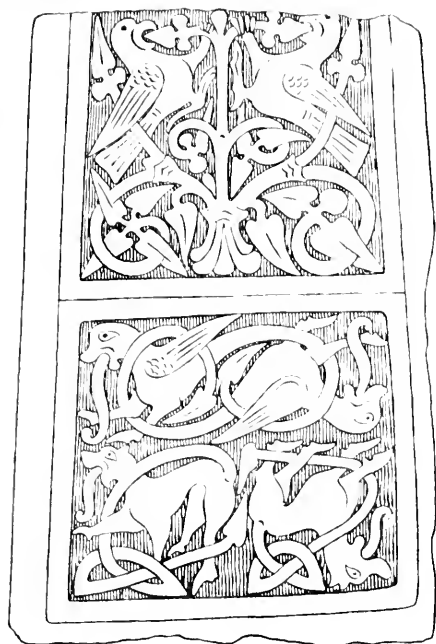
Although it is outside the scope of my paper to deal with the history of the parish, I may briefly note that Croft is in the archdeaconry of Richmond, and, although only forty miles from the metropolitan church of York, was in the diocese of Chester until 1836, when it was included in the restored diocese of Ripon, which see had existed for a short time, but no doubt with different boundaries, some 1,200 years before (678-680).

The accompanying plan has been specially prepared by my son from measurements of the church; and the beautiful photographs have been very kindly made for me by Mr. James Ianson of Darlington, the author of the paper on "St. Wilfrid", in Part III of the *Journal* for 1887.

The first object I will call your attention to (fig. 1) is a sculptured stone, 24 in. by 16 in., built into the south wall inside the church, and close to the south door. Thinking this must be a Romano-British figure, I sent a photograph of it to Mr. C. Roach Smith, and asked his opinion; he replied he thought it was "Romano-British, and represents a local deity, which were common in Roman castra".

This opens up a very wide and interesting question. Croft is only two miles from "Watling Street": a ford existed over the Tees from time immemorial, close to the church, before the present bridge was built in the fourteenth century; and an ancient cross-road connected it with the Watling Street, long before the modern direct high road to the south was made. A Roman coin was found at or near this ford in the Tees in 1790. Sulphur springs have been in use at Croft for centuries. Some of the large squared stones built into the Early Norman church, to which I shall soon call your attention, seem to me to show the Roman "broaching", though considerably worn. It is well known that Christian churches were often built on the site of Roman temples. Is it not possible that some small temple in or near a camp, to guard the ford, was the forerunner of this church, and that some of its stones were re-used?

Figs. 2 and 3 are from a stone, undoubtedly a portion of the shaft of a cross, built into the side of an aumbry in the fourteenth century east end of the north aisle. This stone I obtained leave to take out. The side panels seem to represent stories in the Tree of Life, and dragons with their tails intertwined and in each others' mouths. As to the date of this beautiful work I would not like to express a confident opinion. Canon Greenwell, who is an authority on early art, said, on a visit from our county Association, of which he is President, he thought it was seventh-century work. It is very similar in character to a sculptured stone at Jarrow Church, which was built by Benedict Biscop, 684, and I must say that except that stone (which, however, I have not seen for several years) I do not know of any sculpture in the north of England equal to this work until we come to the spandrels in Archbishop Walter De Gray's monu-



W. M. Allen

SCULPTURED STONE IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CROFT.



ment in York Minster, nearly six hundred years later. The difference in character between the broader faces and the more perfect edge is remarkable. Are they the work of the same or different hands? The front, and back, and remains of one edge are quite Byzantine in character, and the more perfect edge is quite Celtic; and the junction typifies in a singular manner the union which had taken place between the adherents of the Roman Church and those of the Iona Church missionaries, at the conference of Streonshalh (Whitby) in 664. It is well known that the famous St. Wilfrid brought over foreign workmen to build his churches of York, Ripon, and Hexham; and his companion in one of his journeys to Rome—Benedict Biscop—did the same for his churches of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow.

It would be very interesting if one could fairly conclude that the cross was worked jointly by foreign and British sculptors of that date. What more likely than that two great men like Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, the founders and builders of such churches as I have named, should have founded a small church or oratory at this important ford, which they must have so often crossed in travelling between York and Ripon in the south, and Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, and Hexham in the north. Anyhow, whatever its date, I think a term that Mr. Romilly Allen uses in his work on *Early Symbolism*, in describing "Preconquestal" work in England—"Byzantine, intensely Celticised"—applies exactly to this carving. The stone is 20 in. high by 6 in. on the edge, and 12 in. on the face.

Coming now to the church itself, I will first call attention to a piece of wall at the west end filled in black on the plan, and shown in photographs 4 and 5. It is chiefly of ashlar from Houghton Bank Quarry, whereas the rest of the church, except two or three courses just above the ground-level, is built of smaller wall-stone dug from the bed of the Tees close by. Two or three stones about the middle of the wall seemed to me to be the jambs of an early doorway, and, on removing a small stone adjoining, I found they were so, the inside rebate of the doorway being still there. The jamb is square, without any chamfer or carving. This

piece of wall and some stones of similar character forming the lowest courses in some parts of the present building must be the remains of a very early Norman church, the doorway being no doubt its only or principal entrance, *in situ*, and the stones named as forming the lowest courses in other parts of the church have, no doubt, come also from this early church; as I have before named, some of the larger of these stones appear to me to have been worked Roman broach manner, and may have come from a Roman building on the site. No mention is made of a church at Croft in *Doomsday Book*, but I think this Norman church must have been built very soon after that date, probably about 1075, when Ealdwine and his companion monks came from Winchcombe to revive religion in the North, and rebuilt Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Ripon, and Hexham, all of which had been ruined in the years 867 and 875 by the Danes, and again the three northern by Malcolm, King of Scotland, 1070. It is, of course, just possible that this piece of western wall may be the remains of a pre-conquestal church, which, being in utter ruin at the time of Domesday Survey, was not thought worth notice; it is simple and plain enough to be of any early date. The piece of grave-cover, with letters D. U., seems to be *cir.* 1200-1250.

Next in date we come to the south doorway, which has a small piece of its moulding left sufficiently perfect to show its date, about 1190-1225. The south arcade, which has the incipient dog-tooth in one of its caps; and the chancel-arch, which has a fragment of Early English leaf under one of its corbels, also belong to this date; and the eastern respond-shaft on the north side proves that there was also a north aisle at this time.

At this time the manor of Croft belonged to the Constables of Richmond Castle (about ten miles off), the lineal descendants of Alan, Earl of Brittany, to whom Richmond was granted by William I; but about 1250 Roald, the then head of the family, began to mortgage parts of Croft to Clervaulx, a merchant of the city of York, and the successors in each family followed out the same plan in succeeding generations, till, about 1450, the Clervaulx family became possessed of all the Roald estate in Croft, and called themselves Lords of Croft.

The church belonged to St. Mary's Abbey at York, which no doubt accounts for the finely-proportioned chancel, and the superior character of its details and workmanship. The two easternmost bays are of the very purest "Geometrical Decorated" period; the middle window on the south side being engraved in Sharpe's book on *Window Tracery* as a perfect type of such period; and the east window has been originally a lofty five-light of similar character. The section of the jambs of this period of the work is very beautiful and uncommon, being a hollowed chamfer, but not a regular curve; and, I think, I never saw a hollow chamfer which gives such beautiful light and shade. I have often copied the section in my own churches. The western bay of the chancel is rather later (twenty-five years or so) than the easternmost two bays, which is curious, as the chancel-arch is one hundred years earlier, as named above; it looks as if one bay of an Early English chancel had been left up for service whilst the eastern part was being rebuilt. The western windows on each side are both plainer in design and commoner in section, the outer jambs being only single splayed, and not hollowed, which gives them a very inferior appearance.

On the south side is a sedile with three seats, with plenty of carving, though not very good, that in the spandrels representing apparently wild boars ravaging a vineyard. A priest's door on the south side opens into the churchyard. That on the north side must have opened originally into a chantry-chapel, for, on excavating for the heating-vault, we came across the foundations, marked on the plan, and, on chipping off the plaster on the outside of the north wall, forming the inside of the modern vestry, we found an ancient piscina and aumbry, which I have left uncovered in the new vestry.

The chancel has "low side" windows on both sides, and casual observers think them original; careful examination, however, shows this not to be the case. They are both later insertions, the head of that on the south side being made out of an earlier mullion, and that on the north side out of an old transom; and the question arises, Where did they come from? Perhaps from the easternmost window in the north aisle, in-

serted about 1375, as named hereafter. They are not the same section as the chancel-mullions. A walled-up doorway close to such north window is also an insertion, a minute scrutiny showing that the label-mould had late "drawer-handle" moulded returns, so that it was probably inserted when the roof was lowered, as named hereafter, about 1450. On the north side of the chancel are two square clerestory windows over the chantry-chapel before named; and the curious thing about them is that, although the section of the outer jambs is the same as the others in the easternmost bays, they have evidently been inserted after the wall was built, as they are like half-mullions with "plumb-joints"; and another curious thing is that the tracery of the easternmost, which we opened out and restored, is about fifty years later in date than the rest of the eastern chancel windows, and the section not the same.

The walls of the chancel are splendidly built, and of better stone (though the same sandstone) than the walls of the nave and aisles, and of larger stones; the walls, which are three feet thick, being walled solid throughout in flat-bedded stones, instead of having, as is often the case, a mere shell on each face, filled with grouting. The mason who had to cut the organ-arch through the long blank north wall knows to his cost what solid work it is.

It is very curious that the side walls of the chancel batter nearly a foot inside in their height of about twenty-four feet, or about half an inch to the foot, but are plumb outside. I cannot say that the effect is pleasing where the battered lines come near the plumb-lines, as in the case of the windows.

The present chancel-roof is modern, having been erected about sixty years ago; but from below it looks such a good imitation, that, although assured that a joiner was still living who helped to erect it when an apprentice, I would not believe it, until, having a ladder erected to examine its condition, I found, from its mode of jointing, and the omission of fillets where they ought to be, that it is modern; I, in common with other visitors, having been misled by the reuse of some of the ancient bosses, which are very fine, and include—an angel hold-

ing a heart pierced with a spear; a head of Christ; a cock; shield bearing a sword; shield bearing $\frac{P}{X}$; ditto I.H.S.; emblem of the Trinity; angel bearing shield containing the Clervaulx arms; and monogram of Clervaulx. The rest are foliage, those that are modern being very fair copies of the ancient ones, only all are cut away at back to fit round the principals and pur-lines, to which they are nailed, instead of being, as they would be originally, carved out of the solid. The roof, which it copied, would be about 1450.

To return now to the nave. The north arcade seems to have been rebuilt about 1350, a piece of foliage, forming a stop on the top of one of the caps, being "late Decorated" in character. Two of the label terminations represent a king and queen, which may be meant for portraits, as all the three Edwards must frequently have passed through Croft to Scotland; and Queen Philippa would most likely do so in 1346, on her way from York with the Archbishop to meet the Scotch, which she did near Durham, at Neville's Cross.

I may mention incidentally that we are probably indebted to the Scotch wars of the three Edwards for the erection of the magnificent bridge over the Tees at Croft; it being found, no doubt, desirable for military purposes not to be delayed at the ford in case of floods.

The north and south aisle walls appear to have been rebuilt at the same time, except the south door, already named; but the easternmost window on the north side is later, probably 1375. It is a three-light flowing Decorated insertion; and though the present tracery is modern, being put in about fifty or sixty years ago probably, it is a fair copy of that which no doubt it replaced, the inner arch being original.

The tower, which projects very awkwardly beyond the respond, and cuts across the westernmost arch of the south arcade, is also about 1350. It has the arms of Plaice (of Halnaby, in the parish) and Clervaulx (of Croft), and the initials R. P. and R. C. (Richard Plaice and Richard Clervaulx). The belfry windows are peculiar, but effective, the jambs and arch being single-splayed, and the trefoil-headed tracery being thus flush with the face of the wall. The west wall seems to have

been built at the same time as the tower, when, no doubt, the grave-cover of 1200-1250 was walled in over the remains of the early door. The nave-clerestory is about 1450, having no doubt been erected when the roof of the chancel was lowered and the east window cut down, as before named.

I now come to the monuments. It is a curious feature of this church that the nave-aisles still belong to the representatives of the two landowning families—the Chaytors (descended from the Clervaulx by the marriage of Christopher Chaytor of Newcastle-on-Tyne with the heiress of Clervaulx, about 1520), owning the south aisle; and the Wilson-Todds, now owners of the Hahnaby estate, claiming the north aisle.

A fine oak screen of about 1420 separates the south aisle from the nave, no doubt forming it into a chantry-chapel and burial-place of the Clervaulx family for generations. This family, which sprung, as I have named, from York merchants, rose to great importance in the fifteenth century, through the marriage of Sir John Clervaulx (who died in 1443) with a daughter of the great house of Lumley, of Lumley Castle, her mother being daughter of Lord John Neville, and Maud, daughter of Henry, Lord Percy; and this great match brought the Clervaulx into relationship with the royal family, both York and Lancastrian branches, as we shall see presently. In Whitaker's time the tomb of this Sir John Clervaulx was (according to Mr. Longstaffe) discernable, but partly hidden by pews; and in the visitation of 1666 it is named as reading—

“Hic jacet Joh'les Clervaulx Miles qui obiit xiiii. Aug'ti A° D'ni M° ccccxlvi° et D'na Margerita uxor ejus Filia Radulphi Lumley Militis et nepos Rad'o Nevill pr' Comiti Westmorlandie que obiit vicesimo die Decembris (a' d'ni mccccli) Rich' ejus filius hanc tumbam fecit.”

This tomb has since been broken up, to make room, no doubt, for pews: but portions of its sides and ends are fixed against the aisle walls.

There still exists, however, *in situ*, in the middle of the centre bay of this aisle, a very fine altar-tomb of grey Weardale marble. The top is one slab, about 11 feet by 5 feet, by 1 foot thick, and the following

inscription runs round its beautifully moulded edge in very fine letters :

“Clervaulx Ricardus jacet hic sub marmore clausus
 Crofte quondam d'ns Huic miserere Deus
 Annig' Henrici regis et pro corpore Sexti
 Quem Deus excelsi duxit ad astra poli
 Sanguinis Edwardi quarti ternique Ricardi
 Gradib' in ternis alter utriq' fuit
 Qui obiit A^o d'i M^o cccclxxxx.”

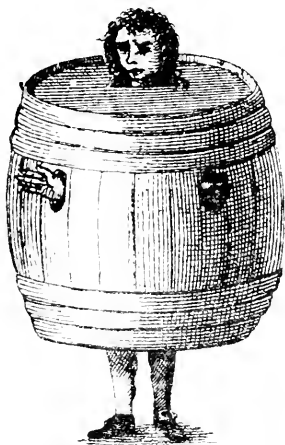
The above claim, to be “of the blood of Edward IV and Richard III in the third degree”, etc., seems rather strained; his grandmother's father, the Lord John Neville (the builder of Raby Castle), named above, being also great-grandfather to Edward IV and Richard III, through the marriage of his granddaughter Ciceley Neville with the Duke of York. He was thus, of course, third cousin to the two Yorkist kings, through maternal connections on each side, and was a family connection of Henry VI, as Henry's great aunt, Joan Beaufort, married Clervaulx's remote cousin Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland. (See my paper on the Nevilles, *Journal*, 1887, Part III.) On the east and west ends of this fine tomb are displayed the arms of Clervaulx and Vavasour (his mother), impaled and surrounded by a label inscribed “Fortune le neit”. On the north and south sides is the badge of Clervaulx (a muzzle), carved four times, and in the centre, on the south side, are the Clervaulx arms (a saltire), and on the north side the Vavasour arms (a fess dancette), each surrounded by a magnificent Lancastrian collar, the SS., thus showing that, though he was so proud of his Yorkist kingly cousins, he died a Lancastrian. But, of course, in 1490 the Yorkists were destroyed, and Henry VII, a Lancastrian, reigned. The carving of the arms and badges, as well as of the letters, is very beautifully executed, and altogether it is one of the finest and least damaged tombs left *in situ* in the north of England. Unfortunately, the fumes from the church stoves and the damp rising from the floor are damaging the grey marble, especially on the sides of the tomb. In the window opposite this tomb are the remains of stained glass, dis-

playing the arms of Hilton, who married the granddaughter of the last-named Richard Clervaulx.

In the corresponding chapel in the north aisle is an enormous tomb of the Milbanks (Lady Byron's family), the owners of Halnaby before the present possessor bought it. The only use of this hideous mass of pompous vulgarity and pagan emblems is to show off, by contrast, the noble tomb of the Clervaulx just named.

I hope this account will, by the aid of the plan and photographs, show that this church is above the average in antiquarian interest, and worth another visit from any of your members who may pass near it.

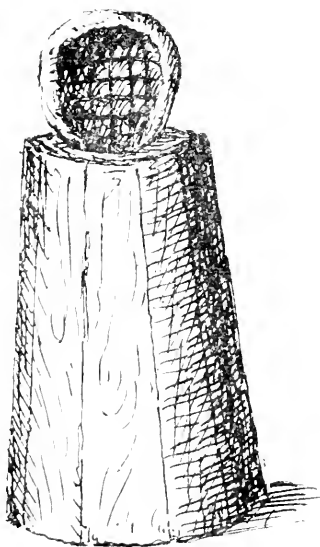




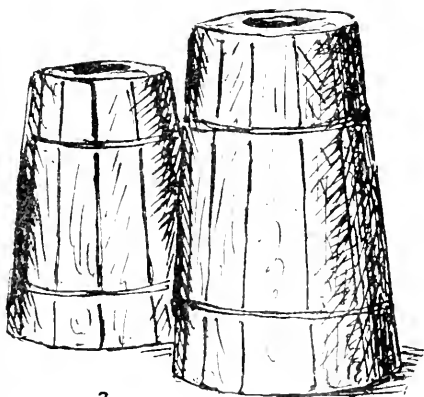
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NOTES ON THE PUNISHMENT KNOWN AS
 "THE DRUNKARD'S CLOAK"
 OF NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

BY T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D.

(Read 15 Feb. 1888.)

OF the various forms of punishment for social offences at one time practised in England, but now relegated to the limbo of the past, perhaps none is better known to the general public than that which bears the name of "The Drunkard's Cloak" of Newcastle-on-Tyne. We possess no authentic information that it was ever employed in any other place; and the record of its use there is, perhaps, not altogether satisfactory, as our knowledge of it is based on the unsupported testimony of one person only.

In 1655 Ralph Gardiner, "of Chirton in the county of Northumberland, Gent.," as he describes himself, published a work entitled *England's Grievance Discovered in Relation to the Coal Trade*, containing a series of charges against the magistrates of Newcastle-on-Tyne, whose abuses, exactions, and "other irresistible oppressions", he likens to the proceedings of "the Spanish Inquisition, and practice of the High Commission and Star Chamber". It opens with a dedicatory epistle to Oliver Cromwell, in which is included a list of grievances, together with a number of remedial suggestions. The following transcript of one of the latter will serve to show that the zeal of the author outran his philanthropy: "x. That a law be created for death to such that shall commit perjury, forgery, or accept of bribery." Opposite to this, in the copy of the work in the British Museum, is written in the margin, in a seventeenth century hand, "author sufferd death Forging of Guinies". A portion of the entry has been cut off by the binder.

To substantiate his charges, "depositions" of various witnesses are printed at length. One of these runs thus: "John Willis, of Ipswich, upon his oath affirms that he hath seen men drove up and down the streets with a

great tub or barrel opened in the sides, with a hole in one end to put through their heads (*sic*), and so cover their shoulders and bodies down to the small of their legs, and then close the same, called the new fashioned cloak, and so make them march to the view of all beholders; and this is their punishment for drunkards or the like." (iii.)

The date of this is fixed by "the heads of the charge" as the year 1653. Although the work is well illustrated there is no representation of this "cloak". J. Sykes, in his *Local Records* (1824, p. 59), assigns the date to May 2, 1649, and reports the punishment to be "called a Newcastle cloak". This appellation does not appear to be mentioned by any other author, nor is any reason assigned for giving a date different to that of Gardiner. Brand, in his *History of Newcastle* (1789), throws no new light on the subject, his account of it being taken from Gardiner's work. To this he added an engraving of the "cloak", the first illustration of it published. (Fig. 1.) In 1796 *England's Grievance* was reprinted, with a copy of Brand's engraving.

It is rather remarkable that no allusion to this punishment is to be found in the Newcastle Corporation accounts or other local documents. Our present knowledge of its administration rests entirely on the testimony cited by Gardiner in the quotation from his work already given.

With one very doubtful exception, the employment of this novel mode of correcting drunkenness, etc., is unrecorded of any other town than Newcastle. The exception is a singular one. Mr. J. R. Chanter, the well known antiquary and historian of Barnstaple, published in one of the local newspapers a series of extracts from the borough records of that place, with explanatory notes. This was one of the entries: "1639-40. Paid for a new cowle, 3s. 4d." This, as suggested in an accompanying note, "may have been what is usually called 'The Drunkard's Cloak'". It is true that *coul* or *cowl* was a word at one time in general use for a wooden tub; and according to Halliwell it was the name formerly applied to "any kind of cup or vessel", the *coule-staff* being used for carrying such a tub by suspension. But there is nothing in this entry to denote that this *coul* was employed as a mode of punishment, so

that the suggestion as to its application for this special purpose cannot be entertained.

Can any further light be thrown on the Newcastle example? If we turn to the Continent for explanatory information we shall get an affirmative reply. Nearly twenty years prior to the date recorded by R. Gardiner, viz., on May 29, 1634, Sir William Brereton saw in the Stadt House of Delft, in Holland, "a wooden huke (yoke), a round, hollow piece so narrow as that it is of a fit size for his head to go, and to hang on his shoulders. It is about one yard and half, and very heavy; the wearing whereof is enjoined as a punishment throughout all the town upon whores, petty larceners, shippers that exact. It is a great shame and disgrace to them; their faces are open, and to be known; their hands held close by their sides, and cannot stir. It is very heavy, and they moving, it knocks and breaks their chins" (*sic*).¹

Seven years later, on August 17, 1641, it was seen by Evelyn, who reports thus: "Within (the Senat-house) there hangs a weighty vessell of wood not unlike a butter churne, which the adventurous woman that hath two husbands at one time is to weare for a time about the towne, her head coming out at the hole, and the rest hanging on her shoulders, as a penance for her incontinency."²

We have the additional testimony of S. Pepys, under date May 19, 1660, who likens it "to a bushel a sort of punishment for some sort of offenders to carry through the streets over his head, which is a great weight."³

Turning to another country, Germany, I saw there, about ten years since, three specimens similar to the Delft one just described. They were churn-shaped, *i.e.*, were larger at the base than at the top, and were destitute of holes for the arms. Two of these were preserved in the Max Thor Museum at Nuremberg, one being about 2½ ft. high, the other about 4 ft. in height. (Figs. 3, 4.) The third, in the Burg Museum of the same place, was cumbrous and heavy, about 4 ft. 6 in. in height, and was capped with a thick leathern hood open in the front, but

¹ *Travels in Holland*, etc., 1634-5 (Chetham Society, 1844), 19, 20.

² *Diary*, 1879, i, 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 1875, 120.

barred. (Fig. 5.) Of their respective dates I could learn nothing, but they appeared to belong to the sixteenth century. The person in charge of the first named collection informed me they were formerly employed to punish drunkards.

That they were used in Denmark and also in North Germany we have the following testimony of John Howard : "Denmark.—Some (criminals) of the lower sort, as watchmen, coachmen, etc., are punished by being led through the city in what is called the *Spanish mantle*. This is a kind of heavy vest, something like a tub, with an aperture for the head, and irons to enclose the neck. I measured one at Berlin, 1 ft. 8 in. in diameter at the top, 2 ft. 11 in. at the bottom, and 2 ft. 11 in. high..... This mode of punishment is particularly dreaded, and is one cause that night-robberies are never heard of in Copenhagen."¹

In the engraving (fig. 2) of the criminal wearing the tub, accompanying this description, a paper is seen affixed to the front of the latter, probably containing a statement of the nature of the crime committed. We cannot for a moment doubt it must have proved a terrible punishment to the person condemned to wear it, and for several reasons. There were the shame and disgrace attending the public spectacle of the enforced march through the streets; the ridicule of the passers by; the feeling of utter helplessness engendered by the narrow tub pinioning the arms close to the body, and restricting the motion of the lower extremities so as to necessitate a short, hobbling gait, with a tendency to trip and fall at any moment; and the heavy weight upon the shoulders. The combination of these various sensations would act physically in producing irksomeness, pain, and distress; and would also, no doubt, operate morally in deterring the offender from a repetition of his crime, as well as in acting as an example to others. That it had this deterrent effect at Copenhagen we know from Howard's testimony.

This mode of punishment was probably much more common on the Continent than is generally supposed.

¹ *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, 1784*, 76.

We possess a certain amount of indirect testimony of this in the representation of living beings in books and works of art of two or three centuries back, with a cask covering the body. This was evidently not intended for the body itself, as the head and members are shown to be protruding through distinct apertures in it. I cite two examples:—1. There is in the Historical Museum at Dresden a brazen vessel in the form of a barrel, having a hinged top surmounted by a head of Pan. The legs protrude through the base. 2. In Stephen Bateman’s *Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation* (printed by John Day in 1569) there is a series of allegorical wood engravings. Of three figures representing gluttony, one of them is of a nude man, the body being concealed by an enveloping barrel. Through square holes cut in the sides, the arms are thrust, the hands holding respectively a tankard and a plate of fruit. A Bacchus-attired head appears through the top, and through the bottom the naked legs.

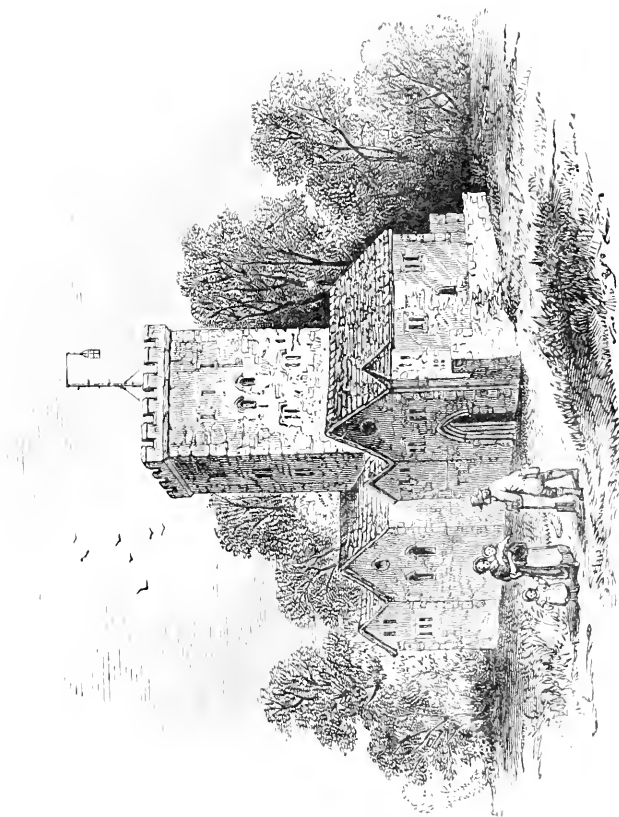
From the foregoing remarks it will be evident that this form of punishment was prevalent on the Continent long previous to its reported employment in England, and continued in use, in some countries certainly, until the middle of the last century. Its origin may be fairly assigned to the early part of the sixteenth century; a period in which, under the Spanish monarchy, a fiendish ingenuity appears to have been practised in the invention of terrible engines of punishment and of torture, even for offences of a minor character. The name by which, according to Howard, this “cloak” was known in Denmark, viz., “The Spanish Mantle”, serves to corroborate this opinion. Its introduction into Holland during the same period, under Charles V, and subsequently into England, through the channel of the great trade and intercourse between these two countries, can be well understood, and serves to strengthen the statement in Gardiner’s work, of its adoption at Newcastle. It may be doubted whether the representation of the “cloak” depicted in Brand’s work be correct, as it was not published for upwards of a quarter of a century after that of the former. Brand avowedly copied Gardiner’s description of it; but as the latter gave no illustration, the one given in *The History of Newcastle* of 1789 would appear to be somewhat imagin-

ary, especially as we have no information of the specimen having been seen by any one. In the account given by Sykes, holes for the arms are not alluded to; hence there is reason to infer that its form was similar to that of the Continental examples. If, however, Gardiner's statement of the tub being "opened in the sides" is to be construed as denoting perforations for the arms, and that Brand's figure was therefore correct, it would rather imply that the punishment was extemporised for the correction of some special offender.

Another noticeable point must not be omitted. Mention has been made that on the Continent drunkenness, larcenies, and certain social offences, were punished by it, its employment not being restricted to either sex. The name of "The Drunkard's Cloak", by which it is known in English works, can scarcely be deemed correct, as it favours the idea that drunkenness alone was punished by it, the offence for which it is stated to have been used at Newcastle.

That history repeats itself is a recognised truism. A writer in *The Mirror* (xxvi, 9, 1835) suggests that this mode of correction would be more efficacious at the present day to restrain drunkenness than a monetary fine. During the great civil war in America it *was* resuscitated as a mode of punishment in the Federal Camp on the Potomac. See *Once a Week*, Feb. 15, 1862.





CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS, PORTSMOUTH, *temp.* HENRY VIII.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS
OF
ST. THOMAS, PORTSMOUTH, A.D. 1564.

BY W. H. SAUNDERS, ESQ.

On the death of Mr. Julian Slight I purchased the MSS. and other papers belonging to his brother, the late Mr. Henry Slight, author of the *History of Portsmouth, Story of the Royal George*, etc. I found a thin folio containing the following churchwardens' accounts of the church of St. Thomas, A.D. 1564-1566 among them. The accompanying woodcut shows this church as it was in the time of Henry VIII, and is of interest in connection with some of the items.

In 1873 I was churchwarden in conjunction with the ex-Mayor, Sir W. King; but these accounts were not among the church muniments when we made our search, and my father, who also served the office in 1847, made no mention of them; so I think they must have been abstracted before that time. Mr. Henry Slight was a great borrower, and did not always return what he borrowed,—a practice still prevailing slightly with some antiquaries. Probably he published extracts of the accounts in the local paper, as I have a mutilated cutting in my possession without date.

The old visitations for a portion of South Hants were held, up to the last fifteen years, in the quiet Hampshire village of Bishop's Waltham, and the wardens, sidesmen, and their friends, made this an opportunity of having a day's outing, and a good repast of course, at the expense of the parish. Latterly the visitations have been held at Portsmouth. When I have done with the old document I shall restore it to the church again. On pp. 9, 10, 11, of my *History of Portsmouth Church* will be found some quaint accounts of pains and penalties.

"1564. CHURCH WARDENS ACCOUNT.

"A^o 1564. The Booke of Accoūptes for the vse of the Churche of Portesmowthe Wyllm Gaye and Thomas Eltoune Churchwardyns for that yeare.

"Receued for the vse of the churche of Portesmouthe by thandes

of Willm Gay Churchewarden in A^o 1565 vnto these present daye being the yere of our Lord 1566 and the 18 of Aprille as here meneyonethe

Receued of Mr. Hollowaye of moneye that was in his hand at the Laste Accompt for the churche *ili. xs.*

Receued of Richard Jemmens in redye moneye that Remayned to the churche *ili. xs. viij*l*.*

Receued for j chaliese sold at *iijs. x*l*. ob.* the ownee the chaliese conteyng in waight *xiij* ounces *d q^a* standinge the soñ in moneye *ii*l*. vs. viij*l*.*

Receued of Mr. Mayor for j. kanepye with a frendge of gold and a cloath belonginge vnto the same with *iiij.* tasselles of Redd sylke and golde j krosse ij tynnen krwetes and j krysmature *vjs.*

Receued of Mr. Bodkyne for j water pott *viij*l*.*

Receued of Mr. for j payor of et *js.*

Receued of goodman Jennens in the presens of Mr. Holloweye beinge then mayor

Receued of Willm Geye for a whit kanepy of vellet with a whyte cloath and a Redd kanepye kase of sylke with a whyte cloath therto belonginge

Receued of Willm Geye for a whyte chamblet vestment with a Redd krosse

Receued at Easter being the yere of our Lord 1565 for the Holy Loaf *x*l*.*

Receued at Easter being the yere of our Lord 1566 for the Holy Loaf *vd. ob.*

Receued on Easter eave being the yere of our Lord 1566 for xv^m pauñ stones of the stewarde of ga..... *iiij*l*.*

Summa *viij*l*.*

The booke of the accomptes of moneye disborzed by Willm Geye churche warden about the churche and churche yarde and other necessaryes for the same as by these partyculers may appere from the yere of our Lord 1564 vnto the day of y^e making herof being the of Aprill' in a^o 1566 viz. :

In prymes for healinge of the northe syde of the churche at sundrye tymes *vs. iiij*l*.*

It'm payed vnto Willm Gellett for healinge of the churche *ixs. ix*l*.*

It'm payed vnto John Bennet for pavinge of the churche *vjs. viij*l*.*

It'm for mendinge of the churche Lytten waulle *iijs. iiij*l*.*

It'm payed for ij Loade of claye *viij*l*.*

It'm payed vnto the sexten for his work *iijs.*

It'm payed for nayles that came frō Haultō *vjs.*

It'm payed for wyar vnto the clerke *vs. iiij*l*.*

It'm paid for j C of tenne penny nayle *xd.*

It'm paid for j C of six penny nayle *v*l*.*

It'm paid for j C of thre penny nayle *iiij*l*.*

It'm paied to John Hyde for fourtene dayes worke in the churche
xiijs.

It'm paied to John Yeman for fyftene dayes worke at *x*l**. by the
daye xjs. *v*j*l*.

It'm Robart Brooker for fourtene dayes at *x*l**. by the daye xjs. viij*l*.
It'm for washinge of ij surplusses *v*j*l*.

Suñ iiij*l*. ijs. iiij*l*.

It'm paied to John Brooker for seven dayes at *x*j*l*. by the daye
vijs.

It'm paied to John Brookers boye for eight dayes at *v*j*l*. by the
daye iijs.

It'm paied to Hope the smythe for mendinge of the clocke xs.

It'm paied to a mason for too dayes worke ijs.

It'm paied to Smythe the sexten to go feeche the mason iiij*l*.

It'm paied to the sexton for *v*j**. dayes worke at viij*l*. by the daye
iijs.

It'm paied for sawinge a peece of Tymber iiij*l*.

It'm paied to the carman for karyadge ij Loade of claye *x*l**.

It'm paied to Chrystopher Willing for helinge of the churche iijs.

It'm paid to the smythe for mendinge the Clocke and washing iiij
surplusses *x*l**.

It'm paied to the Hellyar for mendiñge and shuttinge of the
churche ijs. iiij*l*.

It'm for tyle pyntes *v*l**.

It'm paied to Bennet the masson for thre bushelles of Lyme *x*j*l*.

It'm ij menes help to Remove the Ladder to the glasyer of y^e
Helyer *v*j*l*.

It'm paied to a Carpenter for workinge j day in the Mayor chauncel-
celle *x*j*l*.

It'm for nayles iiij*l*.

It'm for ij*l*. of Spyeles *v*j*l*.

It'm for twentie double tenes iiij*l*.

It'm paied for twentie single tenes ij*l*.

It'm paied for thre smalle plank endes viij*l*.

It'm d' M. [*half a thousand*] double tenes viijs. iiij*l*.

It'm d' M. single tenes iijs. ij*l*.

It'm d' M. syx penny nayle vs.

It'm for washing ij surplusses *v*j*l*.

It'm for sawinge a peece of tymber iiij*l*.

It'm for the Homelies ijs.

It'm for Labourers that helped the Masons for ij dayes at viij*l*. by
the daye js. iiij*l*.

It'm for oyle for the clareke iiij*l*.

It'm paied for Remouing of Mr. Mayres and sētinge of other seate
in that place js. iiid.

It'm for nayles *v*j*l*.

It'm for twyse waschyng ij surplusses and j other cloath *x*l**.

[*Blank page here*].

Laid owt for Bread and Wyne in A° 1564 vnto the day of the
makeinge herof beinge the xvij of April in A° 1566 as by
these pertyculers doeth appere.

It'm for bread and wyne o passyon sondaye beinge the yere of o^r
Lord 1564 *xd.*

It'm o paulme sondaye folowinge for breade and wyne *js. viij*l.**

It'm o Maundy thursdaye for breade and wyne *js.*

It'm o Easter eane for breade 7 wyne *ijs.*

It'm upon Easter daye for breade and wyne *ijs.*

*Suñ viijs. v*l.**

It'm wyne and breade on palme sondaye beinge the yere of o^r
Lord 1555 *iiij*l.**

It'm o Maundy thursdaye for bread and wyne *ij*l.**

It'm o Easter eave for bread and wyne *vd. ob.*

It'm o Easter daye for bread 7 wyne *js. j*l.**

Suñ ijs. ob.

It'm o thursday after Easter day for half a pinte of maulmseye and
*ob. breade ij*l.**

It'm wyne vij quartes and a pynte for Easter Laste beinge the yere
of o^r Lord 1566 and in bread *vd.*

*Suñ ijs. xj*l.**

Mo^r Leyed out for j pin^t of maulmsey o tewsdays Last in the Easter
weeke and for breade *iiij*l.**

Chardges Layed owt at the visytaciō at Southwicke the xj. of June
in A° 1564.

In prymes vnto the sumner for the presentmente *iiij*l.**

It'm the delyverye of the presentment *ij*l.**

It'm for our dinners *ijs. viij*l.**

It'm for our horses hier *ijs.*

Chardges Leied out for the vysitaciō at Hamelden the ...¹ of ...¹ in
A° 1564.

It'm for the makeinge of 8 presentment *iiij*l.**

It'm deliueringe vp the same *ij*l.**

It'm to the sumner *iiij*l.**

It'm our dynners *ijs.*

It'm our horses higher *ijs. viij*l.**

Chardges Leyed owt for the vysytaciō at Southwicke in A° 1565.

It'm the makeinge of our presentment *vd*l.**

It'm delyeringe vp the same *ij*l.**

It'm paid vnto the sumner *iiij*l.**

It'm for our horse hier *ijs.*

It'm for our dynners *ijs.*

It'm for our horse meate *viij*l.**

¹ Blanks left in MS.

Charges Leyed out at vysitaciō at Waultone in A^o 1565.

It'm the presentment makeinge *iiij*l**.
 It'm the delyueringe the presentmente *ij*l**.
 It'm the church wardens Willm Gay and Thomas Elton for there
 horse *ijs*.
 It'm there syde men Mr. Slaughter and Thomas Bright there
 horses *ijs*.
 It'm our dinner *ijs*.
 It'm our horse meate *viiij*l**. Sum̃ vijs. *ij*l**

Chardges Leyed out at the vysytaciō at Southwicke in A^o 1566.

It'm the presentment *iiij*l**.
 It'm delyueringe vp the same *ij*l**.
 It'm our horse hier *viiij*l**.
 It'm the horse meate *ij*l**.
 It'm for our dinners *xiiij*l**. Sum̃ ijs. *vj*l**
Sum̃ xxvijs.

We¹ find owinge vnto Wm. Gaye per his owne Rekninge alowid
xijs.

And thein he moste paye vnto the parrishe for *ij* towll's w^{ch} was
 lost by him.

Leied owt for glassing from A^o 1564 vnto the day of the makeinge
 herof beinge the *xviiij* of Aprelle in A^o 1566 as by these
 perticulers doeth appere.

P^d by Ric. Jennens } It'm for the makeinge new panes of
 Chamberlaine. } glasse *xiiijs*.

It'm new makeinge of *ij* pane of v. fote with our small Quarelles *xx*l**.
 It'm paid for the settinge of *xxiiij* Quarelles of new glasse pryst
*xxiiij*l**.

It'm paid for settinge *xl*v quareles of our old glasse *xxij*l**. *ob.*
Sum̃ ...s. *vd. ob.*

It'm in the south chauncelle for settinge *viiij* Quarelles of new
 glasse and in the south Ile for *xij* of our old Quarelles setting
*vj*l**. Sum̃ *xiiij*l**

It'm paid to the wryter herof for makinge of this Booke *xij*l**.

Thacount Courant Leied owt for the churche of Portesmouth
 by Willm Geye Churche warden from A^o 1564 vnto the makeinge
 herof being the yere of our Lord 1566 amonth vnto *xli. j*l**. Re-
 ceued therof *viiij*l**. *xvjs. ij*l**. so Remayneth dewe vnto William Gey
 of these premyses *j*li**. *iijs. xj*l**.

¹ This and the following sentence crossed out in the MS.

Debtes owinge vnto the Church.

Mr. Yonge owed for the beryalle of his mother vjs. viij*l*.

Mr. Poyninges oweth for the buryalle of his childe

Mystres Warde oweth for the berialle of her housbande vjs. viij*l*.

There ys owinge for the berialle of mother Arnolde vjs. viij*l*.

Thomas felder oweth for ix crestes

Mr. Bycklye oweth ix buz' of Lyne

Mr.¹ Osmaunde oweth for the Rent of Garbards acre for iij hole yeres rent which ended at Michellmas Laste paste in A^o 1565 iij*s*.

Mr.¹ Bodkene oweth for the Rent of one hill of Lande for iij yeres Rent which was dew at Michellmas Laste paste in A^o 1565 vs.

Richard¹ Bennet guner oweth for the beryalle of his wyfe within the church vjs. viij*l*.

Aponted to Thomas Elltone to R[eeive].

Mr. fraunces for the Rent of xxiiij Shepe oweth at Mychellmas laste in A^o 1565 for ij yeres Rente viijs.

Reknyd¹ with Will'm Gaye 7 Thomas Elltoñ Cherche Wardyns this iiijth of Maye A^o 1566 In the presens of John Whittynge stalle mayor, francis Batkyn, Henry Slatter, Darby Saville, John Hollowaye, Owine Totty, Rychard Genynges, Stevine Wyndsor, and Rychard Jarvis, with others to Will'm iij*s*. viij*l*. Savyng the sayd Wylliam Gaye moste aunswer to the Churche for ij clothis of lynnene that Seryyd for the Cōmyne tabille and allso to aunswer to the Chamberlaine xiiij*s*. for the glasing of the wyndowes which ys aunswered him In his a Cownt paste in the other syde.

P^d.—Thomas Elltoñ hath receued for the Holy Loaf in A^o 1564 at Easter for the Holy Loaf which he kepinge Boath moneye and Booke and hath made me no Acount therof vjs. iij*l*.

P^d.—Receued also by Thomas Eltoñ in A^o 1566 for the Beryalle of Wynderes wyfe within the church vjs. viij*l*.

P^d.—Steuen Wynder oweth for the Paule at the Beryalle of his wyfe iij*l*.

P^d.—David Wood oweth for ij yeres Rent of his howse dew at twelvetide Laste in A^o 1566 xij*l*.

Debtes that the Church doeth owe.

P^d.—Owinge vnto Mr. Darbye and vnto Richard Jennens for ij 7 d' C yneh borde the pryce xvjs.

P^d.—It'm owinge vnto John Benete the masine for worke a done a bowt the Cherche vjs. viij*l*.

P^d.—It'm owynge vnto Davy Wood for carige vjs. iij*l*.

P^d.—It'm p^d to smythie for workke a bowte the cherche vjs.

¹ This paragraph scored out with the pen, MS.

Memorandum that the iiijth of Maye an^o 1566 a Reknyng made by William Gaye and Thomas Eltōn Cherch Wardyns before John Whittingestalle meyar, francis Batkyn, Henry Slatter, Darby Saville, John Hollowaye, Owyn tottye, Styvine Wynder, Richarde Jenynges, Richard Jervis and others at the which a kownt and all ther Reknynges a lowd and ther ys dywe to William Gey iijs. vij^d. Savinge the Same Gaye moste awnser to the Church for ij lynny clothis for the Cōmenyne tabille. In witnis her of thes persons whos namis before writene.

And that daye chosinge Davy Wod 7 John Belle.”

A MUSEUM OF CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read 5th January 1888.*)

IN examining the materials for archæological research, that is to say the remains of man and his works existing within any particular geographical area, it will be found that there are three principal causes which have produced an entire revolution in the character of the structures, monuments, and manufactured objects belonging to the area in question. These causes are—(1), the invention of a new material for the manufacture of cutting implements and weapons; (2), the intrusion of a conquering race; and (3), the introduction of a new religion. Thus taking the antiquities of Great Britain, it is possible, without knowing the date of each individual specimen, to classify them according to whether they belong to the ages of stone, bronze, or iron; according to whether they are Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Norman; and lastly, according to whether they are pagan or Christian. In most of our public museums the first and second means of classification are adopted, but hardly ever the third.

As regards the effect produced on art, the introduction of a new religion is of infinitely more importance than either the discovery of a new material for the manufacture of weapons or the conquest by a foreign race. An advance in material civilisation such as that from the use of stone to the use of bronze does not necessarily imply a corresponding improvement in art, and the efforts of our bronze age ancestor to portray the objects he saw around him are far less successful than the sketches of extinct animals on pieces of mammoth bone made by the palæolithic man with a flake of flint. The result of a foreign conquest like that of Britain by the Romans is not to extinguish native art, but merely to introduce new objects from another country which exist

side by side with the indigenous productions, but do not supersede them. When, however, a nation adopts a new religion the case is very different, and entirely new art-forms, which had never previously existed, are developed. Thus it comes about that each of the great religions of the world is associated with a special style of architecture, and the Christian cathedral, the Buddhist temple, and the Mahomedan mosque, are each the highest material expression of the teachings of the founders of the different faiths.

As Christians and Englishmen, the branch of archaeology which deserves our attention before all others is that which deals with the remains of the Christian period in this country. I propose, therefore, in the present paper to consider the advisability of establishing a museum for the preservation of the Christian antiquities of Great Britain in the City of London.

The question which first naturally suggests itself in connection with this subject is, Why have the museums at present in existence taken no steps to set apart a special gallery for the reception of objects illustrating our national Christian art, and is there any chance of its ever being done by the authorities who are responsible for the management of these institutions?

Take the case of a foreigner, or an Englishman for that matter, visiting the South Kensington Museum with a view to studying the effect of the introduction of Christianity on the art of sculpture in Britain. If he has previously had access to the works of Dr. John Stuart, Professor I. O. Westwood, and O'Neill, he will know that there are at least two hundred inscribed stones, and about four hundred elaborately ornamented crosses, in various states of preservation, belonging to the pre-Norman period in different parts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; and he will naturally expect to find a representative series of casts of the more important examples to enable him to form some idea of the local characteristics of the monuments belonging to each district, and to trace the development of the symbolism of the figure-sculpture and the ornament through all its different phases.

Imagine his disappointment on learning that out of all

this magnificent assemblage of ancient remains, the Museum possesses casts of only four,—two from Cumberland, and two from the Isle of Man. These casts are placed side by side with some Scandinavian specimens in one corner of that large hall in which the objects appear to be arranged according to size rather than on any intelligible system of classification. With the exception of a cast of the Rune-inscribed font at Bridekirk, in Cumberland, there is nothing to indicate that the art of Great Britain was other than pagan from the twelfth century to the nineteenth, when the beautiful Scriptural terra-cotta bas-reliefs of Mr. George Tinworth were added to the collection.

I corresponded not long ago with the South Kensington authorities in order to ascertain their views on the matter, and the letters I received were of so unsatisfactory a nature as to lead me to conclude that there is nothing to be expected in that quarter. But the whole principle of art-teaching at South Kensington is so radically bad that perhaps this is rather an advantage than otherwise. I also urged on the Librarian the necessity of making a collection of photographs of Christian sculpture; but he would not even go so far as to purchase copies of photographs of the Isle of Man crosses at a shilling apiece, when they had already been taken, at considerable expense, without any assistance from the Museum.

Turning next to the British Museum, it will be found that although there are a large number of objects of the highest possible interest as throwing light on the history of early Christian art in this country, according to the present system of the arrangement these specimens are not placed by themselves, but are mixed with the others of a non-religious character belonging to the same period. Thus ingots of tin bearing the Chi-Rho monogram of Christ are placed side by side with pagan Roman burial-urns, and the bells and croziers of the Celtic Church are put in the mediæval room in company with Persian bronzes. I have never written to the heads of the departments in the British Museum, suggesting the formation of a collection of purely Christian objects, because a method of classification having been once adopted is not

likely to be changed or interfered with in any way at the bidding of an outsider.

The conclusion which I have come to, therefore, is, that if a Museum of Christian Archæology for Great Britain is to be formed it should be entirely independent of the existing institutions. I believe that a museum of the kind contemplated, if properly managed, would be to a limited extent self-supporting, but a considerable amount of capital would be required in the first instance to start the scheme. The National Portrait Gallery for Scotland now being built in Edinburgh is the result of private munificence, and I think that if the value of a museum of Christian archæology was once properly understood, some equally generous donor might come forward and provide the necessary funds. I feel sure that the name of the founder of such an institution would be handed down to posterity as being one of the most highly honoured in his generation. As this museum would not only be of educational use in teaching the history of religion, but also for encouraging national taste in the arts of sculpture, metal-work, and ornamental design, it might be reasonably expected that some of the rich city corporations would subscribe towards so deserving an object.

I shall now proceed to consider the materials which exist for the formation of a Museum of Christian Archæology for Great Britain, and the practical advantages to be derived from its establishment. The materials available for archæological research may, as has previously been observed, be most conveniently divided into three classes: (1) fixed structures, (2) sculptured or inscribed monuments, and (3) portable objects, all of which should be arranged chronologically in periods as follows:

- (1) The Romano-British period, before A.D. 400.
- (2) The pre-Augustinian or Early Celtic period. A.D. 400-600.
- (3) The post-Augustinian or Hiberno-Saxon period, A.D. 600-1066.
- (4) The Norman period, 1066-1200.
- (5) The English period, 1200-1500.
- (6) The post-Reformation or Protestant period, 1500 to the present time.

The structures cannot be removed bodily, and placed in a museum, but the development of Christian architecture may be illustrated by means of measured drawings, photographs, and models of typical examples. No church of the Romano-British period now remains, and the only traces of Christianity in Roman buildings are the Chi-Rho monograms of Christ on the pavement at Frampton, in Dorset, and on the foundation-stones of the villa at Chedworth, in Gloucestershire.

The ecclesiastical structures of the Early Celtic period, before A.D. 600, are represented by the beehive-cells of the island monasteries of Skellig Michel or Innismurray, and the dry-built oratories with stone roofs like those of Gallems and Kilmalkedan, in the west of Ireland.

In the Hiberno-Saxon period we have churches built with mortar, and with arched door and window openings. In Ireland and Scotland they are associated with round towers, and in England the characteristic specimens are the well-known examples at Deerhurst, Bradford-on-Avon, Earl's Barton, etc.

Very few sculptured details exist in the buildings of pre-Norman date, the crucifixes and crosses above the doorways of some of the Irish round towers, and the highly ornamented arch-jambs at Britford, Bradford-on-Avon, and Monkwearmouth being rare exceptions. These should be reproduced by means of casts, which might be appropriately placed with those of the sculptured stones of the same period.

Turning next to the monuments, it may be observed that during the darkest phase of European history, from the beginning of the fifth century to the end of the tenth, our chief knowledge of the progress of Christianity in Great Britain is derived almost entirely from the study of the early inscribed and sculptured sepulchral stones. The natural advantages possessed by the sea-girt islands on which we live have tempted successive conquerors to land on our southern and eastern shores, driving the original owners of the soil into the mountain fastnesses of Wales and Scotland, and across the Channel into the ocean solitudes of Ireland, where they were safe from further molestation. The result of the isolation of Ireland during the occupation of Eng-

land by pagan Saxons was that a peculiar Celtic form of Christianity was enabled to grow up, and with it a native school of religious art quite unlike that existing anywhere else. Eventually, as soon as the Saxons were fairly settled down in their new homes, they rapidly gave up their paganism, being attacked in the front by St. Augustine, and in the rear by the Irish missionaries of St. Columba, who, wherever they went, introduced those peculiar forms of Celtic ornamentation that were developed in Ireland during the period of its separation from the rest of Christendom. Not long after, the Danish invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries introduced the Scandinavian element into the decoration of our pre-Norman crosses, traces of which are apparent in the Rune-inscribed monuments of the Isle of Man and other parts of the North of England. In consequence, therefore, in the first instance, of the more inaccessible portions of Great Britain having afforded a safe asylum for Celtic Christianity until it became sufficiently strong to send out missionaries to convert the pagan Saxons, and in later times on account of the influence of Scandinavian mythology and art, introduced by the conquering vikings, we, as a nation, possess a series of monuments which are quite unique as regards the palæographical, philological, and historical value of the inscriptions, the interest of the symbolism of the figure-sculpture, and the extraordinary variety of design and excellence of workmanship exhibited by the ornamental features. I venture to say that had this wonderful collection of monuments existed in any other country but our own no expense would have been considered too great to send out an expedition to investigate their scientific value, and to procure as many specimens as possible for our public museums. At the present time the early Christian sculptured stones of Great Britain are, in the majority of cases, exposed to the weather, and unprotected from spoliation at the hands of vandals. In a few years, even if they escape wanton destruction, all trace of inscriptions and carving will have disappeared, and it will be then too late to take any remedial measures. It surely is not too much to ask that the Government should make a small grant

every year to be spent on cataloguing, describing, photographing, and taking casts of the pre-Norman inscribed and sculptured stones, to be deposited in the proposed Museum of Christian Archæology. The Ancient Monuments Bill seems to aim chiefly at acquiring the stones themselves for the nation; and, whilst waiting for their present owners to relinquish their claims to them, the work of preserving some permanent record of all the sculptures by means of photography or casts is being entirely neglected, although, for scientific purposes, this is really more important than the mere possession of a few original specimens.

Dr. Joseph Anderson tells us, in his *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, that "it is characteristic of all educated communities that they are careful of their scientific materials, because they stimulate observation, and exert in other ways a special influence on the increase of knowledge". Now it is not only one class of materials that should be preserved, but *all* materials.

It is curious, then, to notice the extreme care which is taken of the early Celtic and Saxon MSS. by those libraries which are fortunate enough to possess any, and at the same time to contrast this with the utter neglect of the equally valuable monuments of the same period. The early MSS. are so few in number, and the knowledge obtained from this source only so necessarily incomplete, that it has to be supplemented by studying the sculptured stones. As an example, when wishing to compare the various representations of the temptation of Adam and Eve, we can find no picture of the scene in an Irish MS., although the sculptures are very numerous. Hence our knowledge is entirely dependent on the materials which are so neglected.

The gallery of monuments in the proposed Museum should, if possible, contain a few original specimens, which should be supplemented by a representative series of casts and photographs. The subjects to be illustrated would be:—

(1) The different types of monuments at different periods and in different localities, such as the rude pillar-stones of the early Celtic period, with ogham and debased Latin inscriptions, found chiefly in the south-

west of Ireland, in South Wales, and in the west of England; the highly ornamented crosses, cylindrical pillars, hog-backed recumbent monuments and sepulchral slabs with inscriptions in Irish minuscules, Saxon capitals and Runes belonging to the Hiberno-Saxon period, and varying in form according to locality.

(2) The geographical distribution of each type shown by maps.

(3) The lettering and language of the inscriptions.

(4) The symbolism and art of the figure-sculpture.

(5) The ornamental features.

We come lastly to the portable objects. These would comprise chiefly ecclesiastical utensils of metal, such as chalices, croziers, bells, shrines for books, bells, and relics; ivories; vestments; MSS. Where the originals could not be procured, reproductions, photographs, and drawings would have to be substituted.

In the foregoing description of the materials available for the study of Christian art in Great Britain, the pre-Norman period only has been dealt with, because it is the one which is the most interesting and with which we are the least acquainted. If space permitted, it might be shown what a vast field of research is opened up by the ecclesiastical sculpture of the twelfth century on fonts, tympana of doorways, capitals of columns, etc.; then the marvellous stained glass, wood carvings, encaustic tile pavements, and wall-paintings of the two succeeding centuries; and, finally, the curious survivals of early symbolism in post-Reformation times.

In conclusion, I should like to point out a few of the advantages to be gained by the establishment of a Museum of Christian Archaeology for Great Britain. In the first place such an establishment would be of the greatest use educationally, for teaching history by the monuments, and religion by the symbolism of the sculpture. To the ornamental designer the patterns on the Hiberno-Saxon crosses, and their skilful arrangement, offer endless suggestions which might be turned to account for improving modern taste, especially in the matter of jewellery and the hideous tombstones we allow to be erected in our large cemeteries. The symbolism and briefness of the epitaphs of the early Chris-

tian grave-stones might also be studied with advantage ; it is, however, the sculptor and worker in metal who will have most to learn from an examination of the productions of the Celtic school. If a national style is ever to be obtained, it must be by going back to what our forefathers did, and trying to develop the best and noblest features of their work. Any attempt to improve art by feebly copying the masterpieces of Greece or Rome must necessarily end in failure, and the reason of this is obvious, for, being Christians, we never can be inspired with that sensuous love of mere physical beauty to which the works of classical art owe their chief merit ; and, unless we cease to be Englishmen, we cannot efface that strong individuality which has won for the Anglo-Saxon race the foremost place amongst the nations of the world.

NOTE.—Since the above was written the site of the Millbank Prison has become available for building purposes, and Mr. J. P. Seddon proposes that it should be utilised for a recreation ground, with a Museum of Christian Art and Archæology in the centre. The collection of casts now in the Architectural Museum at Westminster could be removed to the new building, and would form a good nucleus to begin with. Mr. Seddon has prepared a plan for the Museum on the lines of the one at the Trocadéro, in Paris.

MANX AND CORNISH. THE DYING AND THE DEAD.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., VICAR OF NEWLYN
ST. PETER, CORNWALL.

(Read at the Liverpool Congress, August 1887.)

THE subject of the death of a language is of deep interest to the philologist and the archæologist; for archæology not only represents antiquities in stone and bronze, and flint and iron, etc., but also of language,—the true expression of human thought. The last deceased of the languages of Europe is certainly the Cornish, which expired about a century ago in the Land's End district, as I had the pleasure of showing at our Congress of 1876 in Cornwall, and also more at length at our Plymouth Congress. I shall not have occasion now to go over the old ground, but simply to illustrate the past of Cornwall by the present of Manx, which probably will be the next to expire of the Celtic languages, and which you will probably have occasion to notice in your proposed visit to Mona.

If I may give a diagnosis of the state of Manx, I may define its symptoms of decay and of approaching death, except for philological purposes, in which it is, doubtless, more imperishable than Cornish, which has not been entirely preserved, though very nearly so, in a literary form. These symptoms are the following:—

1. It is no longer, I believe, a literary medium. In this active literary age there is no Manx newspaper; and I believe hardly any new books are published in Manx. In Peel I inquired lately in vain for either Manx Bible or Prayerbook. At Douglas I had only one Bible offered for sale, and that an old second-hand one. I believe there must be some demand for Manx Bibles and Prayerbooks, for they are published in London, but it is not very vigorous in the Island. The language is dying out as a literary medium. On the other hand, Wendish has a

newspaper, Irish has a journal, Welsh and Gaelic have actual literatures.

2. The children do not learn it. I heard of this everywhere on the Island. Children owned they had never been taught Manx, and were, in truth, as thoroughly English speaking as if they had been born in Wilts, or Derby, or Lancashire. They knew English and no other tongue. Even young men and women mostly cannot say a sentence in Manx. As the old generation die off, it must by degrees pass away, or only linger, in a literary stage (as a language of books), which once existed, but is no longer remembered in conversation. As Manx literature is very small, the latter will not be very important.

Now let us compare the state of Manx now with the state of Cornish in, we will say, the time of Charles II. Drew says that as early as 1640 (under Charles I) Cornish was driven from all the Cornish churches except Feock and Landewednack. As late as 1650 it was commonly used as the vernacular in St. Paul and St. Just. The fish-women and miners used it generally in those parts, and probably did so till after the restoration of Charles II. In 1678 the Rev. F. Robinson preached at Landewednack in Cornish. I fear the last sermon also has been preached in Manx in a parish church. However, I am informed the Wesleyans in Douglas still have a Manx service.

In the reign of Queen Anne, Lhuyd says that still in St. Just, St. Paul, Burian, Sennen, St. Levan, Sancreed, Morva, Madron, Zennor, Towednack, St. Ives, Lelant, Ludgovan, Gulval, and all along the shore from Land's End to Scilly, Cornish was "retained"; which only means the population was bilingual, for in 1707 Lhuyd says "there is no Cornishman but speaks good English". I think this is true of the Isle of Man; only the sense in which "good" is to be taken may vary. In Lhuyd's sense it was manifestly true. In 1640, at Feock, Cornish was used in the administration of the Sacrament. I question whether this is the case in the Isle of Man.

Thus I think we may see that the state of Manx now is something like the state of Cornish in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

The cause of the disintegration of Manx is like that which was at work in Cornish. The two languages are

cognate, though not quite of the same branch of Celtic. Cornish was of the Cymric branch, and nearest to the Armorican or Breton, with, in its later history, some slight Norman-French influence. Manx is rather of the Gadhelic branch, with, I should say, a certain Norse influence,—a result of the occupation of the Island by the Vikings, and of its annexation for some time to the Norwegian crown.

I have often been asked the question, “Why did Cornish die out?” Scawen, in Charles II’s time, gave sixteen answers; but some of these, modern philologists would count as frivolous. The most weighty are these:—

1. “The speech was invaded by the use of Saxon words.” This is not so much the case as might have been supposed; but it had some influence, no doubt.

2. “The near vicinity to Devon and the Saxons.” This in the Isle of Man may be transferred into “the Island being invaded by English tourists and men of business.”

3. The gentry marrying out of it, and so admitting more Saxonage.

4. Not having the Church Service continued in the ancient tongue, as it was in Wales. I have heard Manx men quote this as a reason, though it seems that Manx services were maintained till recently.

5. The “little or no help from the gentry.” Manx is, I believe, no more fashionable than Cornish was in Cromwell’s time.

6. “The want of writing it”, or the dying out as a literary medium.

But the great reason both for the decay of Manx and Cornish never struck Scawen. I am certain it is the one which a Scotch lawyer told me was the great objection to Gaelic,—“two languages are an expensive luxury to poor people, who find difficulty enough in speaking and writing properly one.” The Welsh, with a noble national spirit, are jealous for their language, and face all inconveniences; but the Manxmen of to-day, like the Cornishmen of two hundred years ago, feel the great advantage of English. “Mother, you never taught us Manx when we were children”, is often said in the Isle of Man; as “Mother, you never taught us Cornish” was, doubtless, said two hundred years ago in many a Cornish home.

The fact is, business was favoured by English then : and now, when English claims to be the language not only of the British Isles, but of the North American continent and of Australasia,—the greatest language in the world,—its claims are very powerful from a practical standpoint.

In saying this no one can admire more than I do the noble national spirit of the Welsh, especially in their grand Eisteddfod at London. To preserve an ancient language is an act of patriotism ; but in Cornwall the language appears to have been surrendered from prudential motives ; and in the Isle of Man it appears to me that much the same influences are at work, though the insulation of Mona makes them slower in their action. As long as the law recognises Manx in the Tynwald, Manx must be regarded as in some sense living.

Of the Aryan languages of Europe that have passed away in modern times, the Prussian or old Borussian (a most interesting semi-Lithuanian tongue, cognate to some of the Indian dialects, and nearer the Sanscrit than almost any living European tongue) was the first to die. Then Cornish, from the practical, business-like habits of the Cornish people, was almost voluntarily surrendered. The next to pass away, probably, will be the Manx, though certainly not in the present century ; for it is almost certain that some elderly folk will survive in Mona's pure air, and remain until the twentieth century, philological curiosities, still being able to speak the antique Celtic tongue of Mona.

I should not like to conclude these few historical remarks without some practical suggestions. From a literary and philological standpoint, the educated and upper classes of the Isle of Man ought not to let Manx die out as utterly as the Cornish gentry let Cornish go in the days of the Georges. When the working classes, the mountain-side farmers, cease to teach their children Manx, the educated classes ought to regard it as an accomplishment. I have known Irish gentlemen learn Irish from their servants, and regard it as an accomplishment to be proud of. I see no reason why the upper classes of Mona should not do the same. An extra language is useful, and Manx is a sweet and rich tongue.

During the present generation a good deal has been

done, but just too late from a point of colloquial restoration, to renovate the dry bones still existing of old Cornish. Norris and Zeuss have given their valuable grammars, almost too minute for any but high scientific purposes; Williams has given us a splendid Cornish-English, and only this year Dr. Jago has published his voluminous English-Cornish dictionary; Drs. Bannister and Charnock have produced useful books on Cornish names; Mr. H. Jenner has worked with me at the existing traditions of the Cornish; the Philological Society has done valuable services in this matter. All that can be done is being done not to let Cornish be utterly lost as an unknown tongue to posterity. What would not a Cornish philologist give to find a man or woman who could talk Cornish as scores of aged Manx folk talk Manx now? Manx is still a living tongue, though its pulse is feeble and its life ebbing. With very little effort it might be saved from actual extinction.

APPENDIX.

Resemblances of Cornish and Manx in Common Words.

C. Ardh	M. Ard, high
	Balla, town, estate
C. Carn	M. Carn, heap
C. Carreg	M. Carrick, rock, fort
C. Cadair	M. Cathair, chair
C. Du	M. Doo, black
C. Dean	M. Dooincey, Deincey, man
C. Vean	M. Beggan, little
C. Mor	M. Modar, great
C. Pen	M. Becin, headland

MANX BOOKS.

1. Kelly's Manx Dictionary
2. „ Manx Grammar. Gill's edition
3. Gegreen's Manx Dictionary
4. Kelly, Gill, and Clark's Manx and English Dictionary
5. Bible in Manx
6. Prayerbook in Manx
7. Manx Spelling-Book. By H. Howell
8. Manx Tracts published in Bristol. By the Rev. W. Trundall

9. Translation of Part of Paradise Lost into Manx. By the Rev. T. Christian
10. Description of the Isle of Man in Manx. By J. Bridson
11. Mona Miscellany; Collection of Proverbs, Ballads, etc.

The ballad collection is much richer than the Cornish, all of which, with one exception, is lost. The Manx ballads are of divers kinds, historical, nautical, and sentimental; also Christmas carols and Scripture songs.

Cornish literature was mostly dramatic, as I mentioned to you before. These are the Scriptural dramas extant: The Creation, by Jordan, in 1611; the Beunans Meriasek; the Epic of Mount Calvary; and smaller works.

WALES AND WEST WALES.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

THE connection of Cornwall and Wales during the period before us, of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, is interesting, but has not been as yet sufficiently treated in ordinary histories of England. The age is one of the most obscure in the annals of this country, and therefore the one most attractive to poets and romancists. It is the age of the Arthurian legends (of which I understand Lancashire has its share), and of which we had hoped to hear more during this Congress. But in the mist of the obscurity of the great struggle between the Briton and the Saxon we see a little light, and there are evidences, not only from Welsh records, but also from archæology, which point to the real unity (to a certain degree) of the Britons from the shores of Carnarvonshire to the southern coast of Cornwall, though South Wales certainly had more to do with the Cornish kingdom than North Wales had. During the Roman period, *i.e.*, while Britain was occupied by the legions, Cornwall and Wales may be said to have been under one government, though in Cornwall, at least, there is little evidence that the Romans interfered much with the people. However, there are archæological evidences of their occupation, for, at St. Hilary, in the Constantine stone, we have evidences that the troops of Flavius Constantine Augustus Cæsar, better known as the Emperor Constantine the Great, were in occupation of the country up to a few miles from the Land's End; and at Voluba (which was probably Tregony) they had an important military station. In the rural and mining districts the clan system probably prevailed, the chiefs paying tribute to the Roman officers. It is, however, with the period after the legions left Britain that we have to deal, and on this obscure epoch Cornish and Welsh traditions throw some little light.

The first evidence we have of the intimate connection

of the Cornish and Welsh, or rather of the West Welsh and the other Welsh (to use ancient terms), is of a religious character. Carantac, an eminent missionary of the fifth century, whose name is still recorded in St. Crantock parish (close to the north coast of West Cornwall), and also in Truro Cathedral, was, it seems, a Welsh bishop. A great deal of the Christianisation of Cornwall at this time was certainly done by the family of King Brechan, a Welsh race who, whether we take them as really descendants of Brechan, or, like "the children of Israel", Breconshire people, were almost certainly Welsh people. To this family belonged the Cornish martyr St. Nectan, and the famous St. Keyne (a Welsh princess found in Cornish legend, both in the east of the county, in her parish of St. Keyne, and at St. Michael's Mount). St. Cadoc also was connected with Cornwall. In fact, at least some thirty of the dedications of Cornish parishes can be traced to Welsh saints, besides a considerable number that are traced to Britons who are said to have been educated in Wales. Indeed, the impression one has when one gropes in the dim annals of this obscure period of British history is, that Wales and Cornwall were very nearly one people and one nation. In the period anterior to the fifth century, and in the early part of that century, however, the Irish influence is more manifest in Cornwall, and appears to have preceded the Welsh, which occurs more markedly when the Saxons began to press on the Britons.

Gluvias of Cornwall also is found both in Cornwall and Wales; so it seems that Cornishmen themselves reciprocated the kind offices of the Welsh. His church in Cornwall is St. Gluvias, the parish church of Penryn, a name in itself which sounds almost Welsh. A far greater man than Gluvias was the patron of Wales, who, according to one account, was partly Welsh and partly Cornish, his mother, St. Nunna, being said to have been a lady of Cornish descent. St. David is also remembered in the county. According to one account, his mother was a Cornish lady of the neighbourhood of Camelford.

At this period the military history of Cornwall and part of South Wales appears to have been this. The

heathen Saxons had landed, and were pressing the Britons. Kent, and much of the lower Thames Valley, was already lost. Cerdic the Saxon and his followers were pressing the Britons westward. The kingdom of Wessex was slowly being formed. The pressure of a common foe drove the Britons to combine together. This is not merely handed down in Arthurian legends (which at present would be regarded as most suspicious evidence), but historic evidence supports it, as well as strong probability.

I in no way ask you to accept Arthur as an historic personage, though most decidedly I look with still graver suspicion on the modern dream that he was a mere solar myth. In these days, when, as has been well said, every eminent personage of antiquity whose history is not quite clear, and who travelled a little, is supposed by certain mythologists to be a solar myth, it is most fortunate for us, in the interests of truth, that some witty critics have produced an able and crushing *reductio ad absurdum* in proving, on the solar hypothesis, that the Emperor Napoleon I, Mr. Gladstone, and even Professor Max Müller, were, and ought to be, regarded, on mythological rules, as Myths of the Sun. There is quite as good evidence (apart from evidence of our senses, which we cannot produce in the case of Arthur) that either of these gentlemen were solar myths as that Arthur was. I only wish the Arthurian question, from the standpoint of Lancashire legends, could have been well and exhaustively worked out on this occasion. All I shall have to deduce from evidence before me is, that the assertion that the Christian Britons combined together against the heathen Saxons, that they fought with them several battles, that they won some not mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle*, which Saxon writers found it convenient to forget, is all very probable.

But to pass to pretty well authenticated history, there is little doubt that at this time, or rather shortly after, there was a Christian kingdom of Damnonium or West Wales, which comprised the modern English counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, and certainly a great portion of South Wales, in fact, both shores of the Severn sea, and the south-west shores of

England. At the latter part of this period the interchange of religious life between Brittany, Cornwall, and Wales was very striking. Many of the eminent preachers and prelates who are still remembered in place-names of Wales and Cornwall appear to have lived in each of these countries—markedly, the three “Blessed Visitors of Britain”, *i.e.*, David, Padarn, and Teilo—all of whom are commemorated in Cornwall. Many of the eminent Bretons who ultimately founded Cornish churches—*e.g.*, St. Pol de Leon. St. Sampson—were educated in Wales, chiefly at the famous college of St. Iltutus. Community of language, as well as common interest and nationality, doubtless aided this. The Breton and Cornish, even in historic times—in fact, almost until Cornish died out—were understood by persons of either nationality, and there is strong historic evidence that conversations have been carried on by Cornishmen and Bretons. If this was true two hundred years ago, it was probably more true before Cornish and Breton were exposed to English and French influences. As a matter of fact, I can certify that both languages are very much alike. The same nearly may be said of Welsh and Cornish.

However, I must not allow what I know is a common impression to be quoted in support of my argument, *i.e.*, that the Cornish language itself was a mere dialect of Welsh. This, as far as I can judge (at least, after the thirteenth century), was not the case, for there were some grammatical differences between the two, though Cornish and Welsh evidently belong to the same branch of the Celtic, and are intimately connected.

At the end of the period we are considering—*i.e.*, the latter part of the seventh century—Gerontius, “the glorious king of Damnonium”, (as Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, Bishop of Sherborne, and cousin of Ina, King of the West Saxons, called him), ruled as King of West Wales from the Land’s End to the Chilterns, from the Black Mountains of South Wales to the Lizard region and Start Point and Torbay. He was at this time probably the greatest Christian King of Britain, and welded under his own government the power of the Southern Britons and the ancestors of those whom we call the South Welsh. Probably no king of the Britons

or even in Britain was equal to him at the time; but after him Cornwall waned, and the Saxons pressed into Devon.

To sum up my argument. From the fifth to the eighth centuries, it would seem that Cornwall and South Wales were more or less one country. The clan system may have existed; but still the struggle with the Saxons did tend to make Cornish and Welsh one nation, and, for a part of the time at least, some of the Welsh were under the same rule as the Cornish, while there was a free interchange between the people, certainly in religious matters, some of the eminent prelates of Wales ministering, it would seem, in Cornwall, and Cornishmen also being active in Wales, and not a few of the names of Cornish parishes belonging to Welshmen.

OLD ROADS.

BY GEORGE PAYNE, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read 18th January 1888.)

AN occasional tramp along the old country roads of any district is as pleasant and healthful a recreation as one can indulge in, especially if we set forth upon our rambles in the early spring-time, when Dame Nature is clothed in all her dazzling attire, filling the air with delicious perfume of violet, primrose, and hyacinth. The very birds seem invigorated with the beauty of the scene, for their tiny throats swell with song in seeming welcome to the traveller.

There are many old by-ways to be met with which have long ceased to be used as public roads; these are overgrown with grass, and here and there the hedges on either side have joined hands, as if in defiance of the great civiliser "Man", thus preserving the track, let us hope for ever, as a landmark of the early occupation of the district. Such roads, at certain points where they are of service to the community, are kept up at the public expense, and their original course is occasionally altered; but the old channel of the road may be frequently traced in the neighbouring fields, where the stunted corn is a sure guide to its presence.

From the various archæological discoveries which have been made from time to time by the sides of these trackways we are enabled to form some idea of their probable date, and consequently derive additional pleasure in their exploration.

One of the most important of the ancient roads in East Kent is that known locally as the Lower Road to Faversham. From its connection with discoveries, I was induced to follow its course during the summer evenings of the past few years, and was agreeably surprised to find that it could be traced for a considerable distance, and that it was of far greater importance than I had hitherto regarded it. For the sake of convenience

we will traverse the road in imagination eastwards from Gillingham. On leaving that town, the first object of interest which attracts our attention is "The Grange".¹ Towards the north-east, on the opposite side of the way, we behold a vast tract of marsh land and saltings through which the Medway flows, joining the Thames opposite Sheerness. These marshes, where not protected by sea-walls, are intersected by numerous creeks, and at high water are entirely submerged. From the researches of Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., the late Rev. H. Woodruff, Mr. Walter, Mr. Cumberland H. Woodruff, F.S.A., myself, and others, it has been clearly proved that this vast area was the site of extensive potteries during the Roman occupation of Britain; such being the case, we may with good reason suppose that the road in question, which was probably at that early period a mere beaten track, was a means of communication with the potteries long anterior to the construction of the great military highway known as the Watling Street.

Continuing our journey, we pass through Lower Rainham and by Otterham Creek, from which point the road may be identified across the fields into Oak Lane, and on through Gore Farm to Breach Lane. I have met with men of advanced age who remember in their youth driving to Gillingham upon this portion of the road, which is marked on the Ordnance Map as an undefined way. From Breach Lane the road is kept up by the Highway Board, and passes within a quarter of a mile of Bosted (where extensive remains of Roman buildings have been recently met with)² to Newington Church.

We may be excused if we halt at the corner of Church Lane to notice two or three huge blocks of

¹ A manor anciently called Grench, according to Hasted, was formerly a chapel attached to the Grange, which was erected by John Philipott, who was Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Richard II, and received the honour of knighthood for the assistance he gave to Sir William Walworth in the destruction of the rebel Wat Tyler. Sir John was buried, with Lady Jane Stamford his wife, before the entrance into the choir of Grey Friars' Church in London. The manor subsequently passed into the hands of the Delaunes, and Pinches of Sharsted Court.

² *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xv.

sandstone by the side of the road, which are connected with a legend which has come down to us in the handwriting of the late William Bland, Esq., of Hartlip Place.¹ It is as follows :—

“Once upon a time the bells of Newington Church sadly needed repair, and, for want of funds, the churchwardens agreed to sell the great bell to enable them to repair the remainder. These unscrupulous gentlemen, thinking that such a step would bring down the wrath of the inhabitants upon them, resolved to remove the bell in the middle of the night. Secret preparations having been made, the bell was drawn up to the roof of the tower, in order that it might be lowered from the outside.

“Just as the work was about to commence, the devil appeared upon the scene, seized the bell, and, with one prodigious bound, cleared the battlements, and alighted with great force upon one of the stones already mentioned, which is said still to bear the imprint of his foot.² Determined to thwart the base designs of the churchwardens, he dragged the bell across the ‘bogs’ and cast it into the Libbet Well, which has never ceased to bubble from that time until now.³ The ends of the Evil Spirit having been accomplished he disappeared.

“The churchwardens, finding the coast clear, obtained ropes and grappling-irons, and, after much labour, succeeded in laying hold of the bell, and with great triumph raised it to the surface of the water, when lo! the rope broke and down went the bell. Not to be baffled, they tried again and again, but with the same unlucky result.

“An old witch who happened to be passing sympathised with them in their misfortune, and told them that they could only obtain the bell by drawing it up with four white oxen. These being secured, a final and desperate attempt was made to recover the lost prize.

¹ In possession of Mr. Roach Smith.

² There is a peculiar patch upon the stone resembling in form the human foot.

³ A strong spring rises at this spot, flowing through the “Bogs”, and forming the stream called the Libbet, which flows into Halstow Creek.

The bell was hooded, the rope fastened to the oxen, and slowly but surely it was raised once more to the surface, when, alas, a young urchin, who had been attracted to the spot by such an unusual sight, shouted at the top of his voice—"Look at the black spot behind that bull's ear!" The rope instantly snapped asunder, and the bell was lost for ever."

To resume our journey. An examination of the ground to the north and east of Newington Church shows that it is of a boggy nature, which is sufficient reason for the road having been taken so far past the church before turning into Calveshole Wood, where it comes to an abrupt termination.

There is very little doubt that its course was originally across the fields now traversed by the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, as the lands on the north of the line are known as Cold Harbour. The name occurs again in the Ordnance Map at the point where, we are inclined to think, the road may be taken up again, which enables us to proceed by way of Bobbing into Milton. The latter town was of great importance in ancient times; but, from the discoveries which have been made there, it is not quite clear where the Roman *vicus* stood; but we are of opinion that traces of it are yet to be brought to light, towards the north of the present town, and in close proximity to the church. During the past few years one of its cemeteries has been explored by the writer in a field called Bex Hill,¹ which contained many interesting remains, and more Roman leaden coffins than any cemetery yet discovered.

The road of which we are treating, as it entered the north end of the present town, probably followed on into what is now Albion Road, passing by the Bex Hill cemetery to Milton Creek, which was crossed by a "ford", which gave Bayford its name. On the opposite side of the creek several Roman interments² were met with, yielding some of the most remarkable remains which have been found in this country; as these graves must have been by the side of a road, we may infer that

¹ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. ix.

² To be published in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xvi.

after crossing the creek at Bayford the road crossed the fields of Bayford manor, joining the present road, which goes by the East Hall estate, where a very extensive Roman cemetery was discovered some years since.¹

It will be observed that the original line of the way has been traced with difficulty between Newington Church and Bayford (a distance of about three miles); but when we consider the great changes which have taken place in this district during the lapse of upwards of fifteen centuries, we may be excused if we attempt to supply in imagination here and there a few missing links. The conclusions with regard to the latter have not been arrived at without a careful comparison of all the roads and by-ways in existence between the points just mentioned.

To resume. From East Hall the road passes by an earthwork known as Tong Castle, said to be of Saxon origin,² from which the Green derived its name. Sandown is a lofty hill artificially scarped round its summit to the extent of several acres, and is doubtless the site of a British entrenchment. Through the kindness of Mr. Honeyball, of New Gardens, I caused to be excavated an elevated spot on the top of the hill, resulting in the discovery of fragments of Celtic pottery, insignificant in themselves, but important as evidences of occupation.

To the north of the road, just after leaving Sandown, we pass the site of a Roman cottage discovered on Buck-

¹ To be published in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. x.

² Immediately after leaving Tong two interesting houses are passed, right and left of the road. That on the left is known as Great Bax, or Bex, formerly the property of the Nottinghams, who resided at Bayford Court in the fourteenth century. The present house at Bex is of the sixteenth century, and is merely a wing of the original building. In a field on the right of the road leading from this farm to Chekes Court I discovered numerous fragments of Roman tiles, suggesting the presence of foundations below the surface. The other house, alluded to above, is called Frognal. The manor was formerly written Frogenhall Valence, by which addition Hasted infers that it belonged to the family of Valence or De Valentia, two of whom were successively Earls of Pembroke from the reign of Henry III to that of Edward II, when it became extinct. In the reign of Edward III the manor-house was occupied by Richard de Frogenhall. Passing on through Teynham and Barrow Green, we reach Sandown, where there existed a barrow.

land Farm many years since, and explored by permission of the late James Lake, Esq., of Newlands.

Buckland Church, which next claims our attention, was in ruins in Hasted's time; its crumbling, ivy-clad walls still remain an object of hallowed interest, recalling to our minds the words of Kirke White,—

“Behold man view some pompous pile
Whose high dome swells to emulate the skies,
And smile and say my name shall live with this
Till time shall be no more, while at his feet,
Yea at his very feet, the crumbling dust
Of fallen fabrics of the other day
Preaches him solemn lessons.”

It is a matter for regret that this venerable ruin should still remain unprotected by a fence or other suitable enclosure. At present the interior is a resting-place for cattle, and serves as a convenient shelter for harvesters, who desecrate its time-honoured walls with the smoke from their camp-fires. The wealthy citizens of Canterbury allowed one of their earliest and most sacred ruins to share a similar fate; and it needed the graphic pen of the correspondent of a “sporting” paper to wake them from their lethargy, and to make known to the world that the chancel of St. Pancras (where, according to Thorn, a Benedictine monk of the fourteenth century, King Ethelbert worshipped) was converted into a loathsome piggery.

From Buckland we proceed on our way, soon reaching Byeing Wood. Here the course of the road has been slightly diverted; but the old channel may still be seen through the Wood, and if followed brings us out into the road which runs by Messrs. Halls' Powder Works, and from thence by Darington Priory into Faversham. It is significant that the road of which we are treating was selected for the High Street of that ancient borough, and testifies to the importance of the route even from the earliest times, as has been clearly proved by the researches of the late Messrs. Gibbs¹ and Bedo.²

¹ See Catalogue of the Gibbs Collection, South Kensington Museum, by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.

² *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. ix, p. lxxiii.

From Faversham we proceed by way of Ewell,¹ Fairbrook, and Staple Street, crossing the great London road at the foot of Boughton Hill, and onwards by Winterbourne Wood, through College, Ensden, and Nickhill Woods, to Hatch Green, ending our journey at the ancient British entrenchment in Howfield and Bigberry Woods.

Roman interments have been discovered by Mr. John Marten, of Dunkirk, both at Nickhill and Hatch Green, in close proximity to the road. These discoveries are of the highest importance in determining the probable age of the road, and taken in conjunction with its circuitous and deeply channeled course at various places, is in our opinion conclusive evidence that it was in existence as a beaten trackway before the advent of the Romans, and that they made use of it as circumstances necessitated.

It is reasonable to suppose that as the invaders advanced through the country they would follow the trackways in order that they might discover the whereabouts of the British *oppida*. Cæsar states in chap. ix, book v, of his *Commentaries*, that he himself having advanced by night about twelve miles espied the forces of the enemy. They advancing to the river with their cavalry and chariots, from the higher ground, began to annoy our men and give battle. Being repulsed by our cavalry they concealed themselves in woods, as they had secured a place admirably fortified by nature and by art, as it seemed they had before prepared on account of a civil war, for all entrances to it were shut up by a great number of felled trees. They themselves rushed out of the woods to fight here and there, and prevented our men from entering their fortifications. But the soldiers of the seventh legion having formed a *testudo*, and thrown up a rampart against the fortifications, took the place and drove them out of the woods, receiving only a few wounds. But Cæsar forbade his men to pursue them in their flight any great distance, both because he was ignorant of the nature of the ground, and because, as a great part of the day was spent, he wished time to be left for the fortification of the camp.

The river alluded to by Cæsar could have been none

¹ A manor which in the reign of Richard II was possessed by the family of Boteler.

other than the Stour, and the fortifications those now to be seen in Bigberry Woods. These Woods, forming as they do a part of the great forest of Blee, have suffered little at the hands of successive generations, and are probably much the same as when the Roman legions first marched through them.

From Bigberry there are two ways into Canterbury,—one by way of St. Dunstan's Church; the other leads past the ancient manor-house of Toniford, where the river Stour is crossed by a ford which, as Mr. Hussey observes, "was probably the chief place of passage until the founding of the city of Canterbury changed the direction of the traffic".¹

¹ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. ix, pp. 13, 14.

Obituary.

MR. MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM, F.S.A.

WE have to record the death of Mr. Bloxam of Rugby, an old member of the Association, who died recently at the age of eighty-three. Several biographical notices of this distinguished antiquary are extant. The *Archæologia Cambrensis* for January 1883 contains a very accurate notice, with an excellent portrait, and the Rugby and Warwickshire newspapers have given extended accounts of his life and works.

The deceased gentleman was the son of the late R. R. Bloxam, D.D., a Master of Rugby School, by Ann, his wife, sister of Sir Thomas Lawrence, the President of the Royal Academy. On his mother's side he came of the Hills of Court Hill, and the Powyses and Littletons of Salop and Warwickshire.

Mr. Bloxam was educated at Rugby until September 1821, being about seventeen years of age, and was then articled to a solicitor in Rugby, with whom he remained about five years and a half; and in May 1827, having completed his articles of clerkship, he went to London, and in ten weeks he was admitted into the Court of Common Law as an attorney, and in the Court of Chancery as a solicitor. In 1827 Mr. Bloxam commenced practice as a solicitor in his native town; but this for the first four years was very limited. In the month of January 1831 he was appointed Clerk to the Justices of the Petty Sessions in Rugby. This official post he retained for forty years, and resigned his office in 1871.

There are few names more widely known and more generally esteemed than this veteran of architectural archæologists, who may be said to have been the first who put into the hands of students a clear and faithful guide to a knowledge of Gothic architecture. Before his time others had written on the same subject works at the present time held of small value. Rickman succeeded them with his valuable work, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation*. He was followed by Mr. Bloxam with his *Guide*, and soon after by Mr. John Henry Parker with his admirable *Glossary*. All these works are still in as great requisition as ever. Mr. Bloxam's work has one valuable advantage over the others, namely, the popular character of the book, which is and was in every one's hands; whereas those of the other two authors, valuable as they are, would be considered by many as too expensive or too advanced

for ordinary folk : hence the enormous circulation of the smaller and more modest, but by no means less valuable, volumes of Mr. Bloxam.

Except the *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, or *Glimpse of the Sepulchral and Monumental Remains of Great Britain* (not published), most of Mr. Bloxam's literary works were in the form of papers contributed to the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, to our *Journal*, to the Warwickshire Field Club, and other Societies. One of the fullest local papers was entitled "Warwickshire during the Civil Wars of the Seventeenth Century", from original contemporary tracts and personal research at Edge Hill and other places. In another paper he described the siege of Compton Wynyate's House ; in another he described "Certain Ancient Churches and Chapels formerly Existing in the County of Warwick, now Ruinated, Desecrated, and Destroyed." To these we may add "Some Account of Rugby", "Mediæval Legends of Warwickshire", "Sepulchral Monuments and Effigies in Worcester Cathedral", "Merevale Abbey", "Discoveries at Warwick Castle", and "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Warwickshire." These will be valued hereafter. Of these trustworthy records, in number more than fifty, he presented a large number to the Rugby Reference Library.

One generous act has a local interest. When St. Martin's Church underwent alterations, about forty years ago, the fine effigies of the Lords of Birmingham (now placed in the chancel) were fully examined and carefully preserved from long years of negligence by Mr. Bloxam and his young friend, the late Mr. W. H. M. Blews.

His principal work was the favourite of all his life, and he wrote (September 14, 1884) in a private letter, "My work on Gothic architecture has been a great solace to me during the greater part of my life. In a pecuniary sense I have not much benefited by it ; but then mine was not a pecuniary object,—that was confined to my work in the legal profession. I believe I am now the oldest solicitor in Warwickshire."

Even at his advanced age his conversation was charming, his memory vivid, his large stores of knowledge ever ready. It was pleasant to meet him in one of his quaint, old rooms with two or three young Rugby boys around him, whom he hoped to make good archæologists hereafter, when his own eyes should be closed, and his pen and pencil laid down for ever. It was pleasant to meet him in some old church, or in some old British camp, or some ruined priory, which he had visited and sketched nearly sixty years before. His kindly manners, his genial presence, his overflowing and generous kindness, will ever be remembered by all his personal friends. Those who know him only by the long list of his sketches and descriptions of the archæology and history of Warwickshire, or by the great work which was begun when such studies were not favoured, and finished when he had lived

to see the dreams of his youth become the realities of his later life, will, as they read the *History* or refer to the *Handbook*, have hearty thanks for the works and sincere honour for the memory of one whose loving labour and patient care have preserved so much of the past for the present and the future.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Hampshire Record Society.—In June a meeting was held at the Deanery, Winchester, with a view to the formation of a Hampshire Society for the preservation and publication of those ancient records in which the county is peculiarly rich. It was agreed that membership should be open to all who are willing to pay either an annual subscription of 10s. 6d., which should carry with it the Reports of the Society and some portion of its publications, together with the privilege of purchasing all its published documents at a very reduced rate; or an annual subscription of a guinea, which should entitle the member to all publications of the Society free of cost.

It is proposed to issue quarterly parts of Hampshire documents, so as to make two or three volumes yearly; each volume representing one of the classes into which the records may be divided. Thus one series might be the episcopal registers of the diocese; another, a selection from the early Church Rolls which are preserved in the Cathedral and elsewhere; a third, the interesting civic records possessed by different towns within the county; a fourth, family documents, where owners may be willing to let them be published; another, the parochial registers and records. Care will be taken to print not only early MSS., but also papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which are of high value, and perhaps in more danger of perishing than the more ancient vellums.

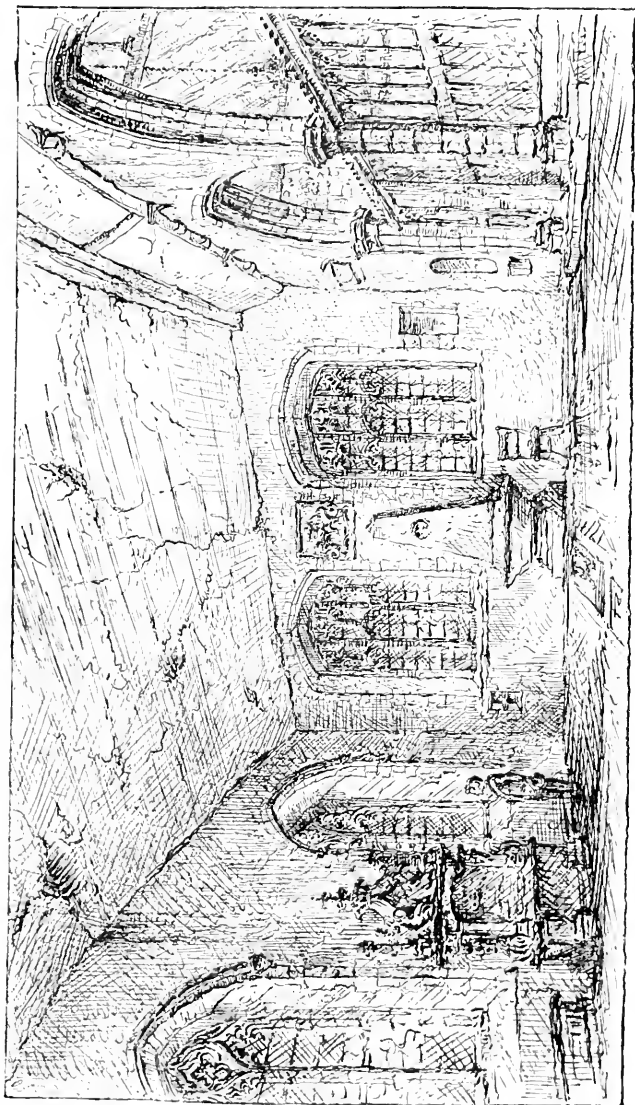
Every care will be taken to secure the assistance of editors for the work of seeing the publications through the press.

The Society may do a very useful work in bringing to light hidden stores of papers of literary or historical value; and it may also, perhaps, do something towards the preservation of ancient MSS. by advising the owners of them, and, if invited to do so, by helping possessors to arrange and store them safely.

In order to be able to carry on its work with success, the Society ought to consist of at least three hundred members; and unless a good tale of names be received, it will be unsafe to begin operations at all, for it is clear that a feeble Society could never hope to grapple successfully with the mass of records scattered throughout the county. The Committee, therefore, appeal to all lovers of antiquity for support, and

would be grateful if those who are willing to join, or who can give any information helpful towards the promotion of its objects, will kindly communicate with the Dean of Winchester, Deanery, Winchester.

Memorials of Herne, Kent. By the Rev. J. R. BUCHANAN, Vicar.
2nd edition. (E. Stock.)—The success attending the issue of the first



North Aisle of Herne Church.

edition of this little work has led the author to publish a second edition with additions. We are glad to find that the ancient tower, which

had indicated serious symptoms of impending fall, has now been repaired, and made secure from danger, thanks to the indefatigable assiduity of Mr. Buchanan, whose appeal for funds was liberally met.

The Vicar is anxious to put the north chantry chapel, at the north-east corner of the north aisle, in proper repair; and by removing the wretched plaster ceiling, and replacing it with carved woodwork, his judicious assistance will, we believe, meet with universal approval. This is not a case of unnecessary restoration or tampering with old work,—a vice for which no condemnation is too strong,—but it is a question of renewing the tasteless lath and plaster which let in the rain, and hide the true inside lines of the roofing, or introducing better work in keeping with the general aspect of the original and ancient parts of the church. The two windows on the left, deeply set, and splayed with heads, like those in the baptistery of the church, contain stained glass; and there is a remarkably well-carved screen on the right, the top of which bears evident traces of a rood-loft. Mr. Buchanan thinks that this originally occupied the place of the modern chancel-screen, and the measurements tend to prove that it did so.

Notes on Irish Architecture. By EDWIN, THIRD EARL OF DUNRAVEN. Edited by MARGARET McNAIR STOKES, Hon. Member of the Royal Irish Academy, etc. With very numerous, fine Photographic Illustrations and Wood Engravings. (Bell: London.)—These two noble volumes give the result of years of labour and generous expenditure on the part of the late Earl of Dunraven, applied to the study and illustration of the antiquities of Ireland. They contain one hundred and twenty-five fine illustrations executed in permanent photography, one hundred and sixty-one woodcuts, and nine lithographic plates of sections. These represent archaic stone buildings without cement, later ones with cement, round towers or belfries, crosses, and later remains of a Romanesque character.

The letterpress is historical and descriptive, and is contributed by Miss Margaret Stokes from notes made on the spot by Lord Dunraven, with whom she was associated in the collection of the material and in the arrangement of the work. The impression was limited to two hundred copies, and of these fifty-six copies only remain for sale. When these are reduced to twenty, the publishers reserve the right to raise the price from eight guineas to twelve guineas.

These volumes are worthy of a place in every public library; and as there is no probability of their being reproduced, early application is recommended.

The Cartulary of the Abbey of Winchcombe, Co. Gloucester. To be edited by the Rev. DAVID ROYCE, M.A., Vicar of Nether Swell, Stow-

on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire.—This important Cartulary was missing for many years from the muniment-room at Sherborne, and was supposed to be lost; but fortunately it has been found, and restored to Lord Sherborne. With his Lordship's permission it has been transcribed, and it is proposed to print a limited number of copies for subscribers only.

The Cartulary contains 840 documents, consisting of papal bulls, charters, confirmations, and other deeds relating to the Abbey from its dedication, A.D. 811, to 1242. The charters, in this instance, contain not only the names of the parties thereto, but also those of all the witnesses, which unfortunately are too often wanting in such records. This fact, it need scarcely be said, greatly enhances their value to the historian and genealogist.

It is now proposed to print the whole Cartulary *in extenso*, in its original form, in two volumes, to be strictly limited to 250 copies, of which 210 will be in royal 8vo., half-bound, uniformly with the Master of the Rolls' Series, and the remainder on large paper. The subscription price of the former will be 10s., and of the latter, 15s. per volume. As a large number of persons have intimated their intention to subscribe, early application should be made to the Editor.

The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains found in Repairing the North Wall of the City of Chester, a Series of Papers read before the Chester Archæological and Historic Society, etc., and reprinted by permission; edited, with an Introduction, etc., by J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A., Author of *East Cheshire*, etc., is in the press, in an illustrated 8vo. volume of about 150 pp. Price to subscribers, 12s. 6d. A few large paper copies at £1 1s. A limited edition only will be printed.

With the view of bringing the important discoveries of Roman tombstones, inscriptions, and other remains, recently found in repairing the North Wall of the city of Chester, to the notice of those who are interested, Mr. Earwaker has received permission to reprint the reports and papers on these discoveries, mostly read to the Society during the Session, 1887-8. These papers, which were written by some well-known authorities on Roman remains in England, are as follow :—

1. The Official Report of the City Surveyor, describing the first series of discoveries made in repairing the North Wall in the summer of 1887, with a plate showing the position in the Wall where the principal stones were found. Read to the Society on the 24th of October 1887.

2. A paper by the late Mr. W. T. Watkin on the Roman inscriptions found during the first repairs in the summer of 1887. Read 19th

December 1887. With this paper several illustrations of the monumental stones and inscriptions will be given.

3. A paper by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., of the British Museum, on a monumental stone found in the North Wall in July 1887. Read before the Society of Antiquaries, London, on the 8th December 1887, and reprinted by permission of the Council. Illustrated by a plate of this stone.

4. A paper by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., on the bearing of the recent discoveries on the true age of the City Walls. Read 16th January 1888. This is illustrated by plans and sections. The discussion which followed the reading will also be given.

5. Report by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., on the monumental stones and inscriptions found during the second series of repairs made in December 1887 and January 1888. Specially prepared at the request of the Council, and read to the Society on April 9th, 1888. With this paper nine full-page and other illustrations of the chief monumental stones and inscriptions will be given.

In an Appendix will be given the paper on "The City Walls of Chester: Is any Part of them Roman?" by Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., of Chester (read to the Society on the 3rd December 1883); and the discussion which ensued; together with the Official Report of excavations then made, and Mr. Shrubsole's reply. These are reprinted, by permission of the Council, from the first volume of the new series of the Society's *Journal*.

The necessary repairs to a portion of the North Wall, undertaken by the Corporation in July 1887, led to the discovery that the interior portion, which at its lowest point is 9 feet thick, was full of Roman stones, including portions of massive masonry from Roman buildings, cornices, friezes, capitals of columns, etc., together with monumental stones and inscriptions. The interest excited in the minds of archaeologists by the value of the remains found induced the Council of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society to appoint a Sub-Committee, who succeeded in raising about £100 by subscriptions, by means of which a further portion of the North Wall was examined in December and January last, and a further series of discoveries was made. This is the second of the two repairs above referred to, and the results of which are here published for the first time.

The importance of the discoveries may be estimated from the fact that whereas in the past three centuries, during which attention has been paid to the Roman remains found in Chester, only *five* monumental stones or inscriptions have been found, yet during the two series of repairs above alluded to no less than *twenty-seven* monumental stones and inscriptions have been brought to light. Of these, thirteen were found on the first occasion, and fourteen on the second;

and it is noteworthy that only a fragment of the upper part of a Roman *altar* has been met with. Of the former, one of the most important is the so-called "Ecclesiastical Stone" about which so much controversy has taken place. This, which was by some writers considered to represent two ecclesiastical figures (and so to prove the *medieval* character of the City Walls), has been clearly shown by Mr. W. de Gray Birch to be the figure of a Roman lady and her attendant. There is also the large slab, 6 feet 3 inches in height, bearing the figures of a Roman centurion and his wife, having on one side the representation of the *ascia* or axe, and the *malleus* or hammer, with an inscription underneath them, no other example of which has ever been found in England. Another monumental slab (about 6 feet in height) bears two figures, now much worn; and this also has on the side the *ascia* or axe, the *malleus* or hammer, the *sculprum* or chisel, and the *ligo* or spade, very boldly carved, but without any inscription underneath them. Of the inscriptions, one of the most important is that to Marcus Aurelius Alexander, the Prefect of the Camp of the Twentieth Legion.

Nor are the monumental stones and inscriptions discovered during the second series of repairs less interesting and important. One of the stones bears the now headless figure of Hermagoras, and another represents the full-length figure, but without head, of Diogenes, the standard-bearer, holding in his right hand a standard having at the top the bust of an emperor or deity. Another stone bears the figure of Aurelius Lucius, a Roman horse-soldier, reclining on a couch, with helmet and short sword in the background, whilst in front of the couch, near the usual tripod table, an attendant is standing having a small mask at his feet. There is also another much mutilated figure of a standard-bearer, but without any inscription. Three inscriptions are also noteworthy,—that of Vitalis, another standard-bearer, cut in fine, bold letters on a slab 4 ft. 4 in. high by 3 ft. 6 in. wide; that of Publius Rustius, on a slab 2 ft. 3 in. high by 2 ft. 10 in. wide; and that of Quintus Longinus Pomentina.

It is, therefore, clear that these discoveries not only throw much new light on the past history of Chester, but also on the history of the Roman occupation of England, and as such they will, no doubt, receive the attention and critical examination they so well deserve. Before long all the principal stones will be exhibited at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester.

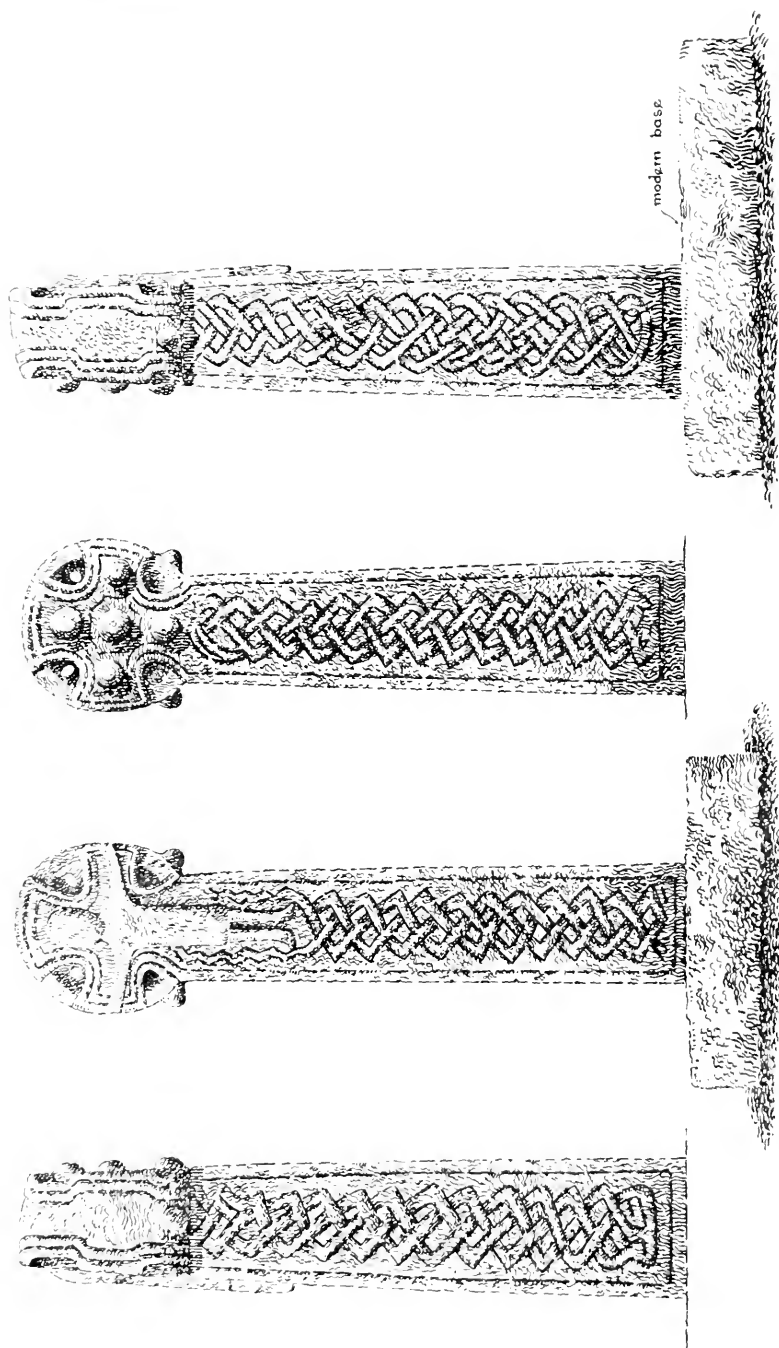
This volume will contain many illustrations in addition to the various plans, sections, etc. All the monumental stones of importance have been drawn, and the best of the inscriptions; and in all cases the finished drawings have been carefully compared with the originals, so as to obtain all the details as correctly as possible, as well as the

general character of the stones. As the number of copies to be printed is limited, early application should be made to Mr. Earwaker at Pensarn, Abergale, N. Wales.

Mycenæ Excavations.—The excavations commenced by Dr. Schliemann, our Hon. Correspondent, at Mycenæ, are still being energetically carried on, and continue every day to bring to light fresh objects of great archaeological interest. The entire terrain around the town is full of tombs belonging to an epoch antecedent to Homer. These pre-Homeric sepulchres are cut in the solid rock, and carefully formed in regular compartments, with an area of from 35 to 40 square mètres. In these chambers the dead were laid without being covered with earth; nor were they cremated, as at the time of Homer.

Amongst the numerous objects discovered at Mycenæ, in the course of the latest diggings, are articles of glass, crystal, and ivory, besides precious stones with engravings of animals charmingly executed. These articles throw a flood of light on a civilisation dating a thousand years before Christ. By their generally Oriental character they prove that the ancient Greeks received from the East not only the raw materials of their first works of art, but the art of symbolic representation itself.





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Rich. S. Stoughton
8 June 88

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THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF CORNWALL.

BY A. G. LANGDON, ESQ., AND J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read 21 March 1888.)

THE exact period when Christianity was first introduced into Cornwall will possibly never be satisfactorily determined. No structures, monuments, objects, or other remains, have been discovered in this part of Britain to prove that the inhabitants were anything but pagan during the period of the Roman occupation, and history throws no light on the matter so early as the fourth century. Such statements as the one about the presence of British bishops at the Council held at Arles in A.D. 314 are rather vague; and it is not until the mission of St. Germanus of Auxerre and St. Lupus of Troyes, for the suppression of the Pelagian heresy in A.D. 429, that the existence of Christianity in Britain is associated with the names of ecclesiastics known in the history of other countries.

The dedication of a number of the Cornish churches to Gallican saints, such as St. Martin of Tours, St. Germanus of Auxerre, and St. Hilary of Troyes, tends to show that Christianity came to Cornwall from Gaul perhaps as early as the beginning of the fifth century, when these saints lived. The connection between Cornwall and Brittany at this period is indicated by dedications to St. Brioc, the founder of Treguier and St. Brieuc, before A.D. 500, to



St. Winwolanus, Abbot and founder of Landevenech, before A.D. 504; to St. Ninnoca, or Non, the mother of St. David, and foundress of Lan Ninnoc; to St. Samson and St. Budoc. Bishops of Dol; to St. Patern of Vannes and St. Paul de Leon, who lived in the sixth century. Two churches in the diocese of St. Malo are also dedicated to St. Madern.

Welsh saints are commemorated in Cornwall, such as St. Cybi, of Llangybi in Cardiganshire and Cuby in Cornwall; and St. Carannog, of Llancannog in Cardiganshire and Carantoc in Cornwall. Dedications to St. Petrock, St. David, and St. Govan, are found both in Pembrokeshire and in Cornwall. There are a few Cornish churches dedicated to Irish saints, such as St. Columba, St. Colan, St. Hya, and St. Kieran; and some to Saxon or Danish saints, such as St. Dunstan, St. Werburg, St. Cuthbert, St. Menefrida, and St. Olave.

The British bishops in Cornwall became subject to the see of Canterbury in the time of King Athelstan, A.D. 925-940.

It would appear, therefore, from the historical evidence which has been brought forward that none of the Christian monuments in Cornwall are older than the fifth century, and that those showing Saxon influence are probably of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In conducting the present inquiry it must not be forgotten that the fixing of dates always involves eventually a direct or indirect reference to history, and that the age of a monument cannot possibly be determined by any purely archaeological process unaided by history.

The dedications of the churches seem to prove that Cornwall was more intimately connected with Brittany and South Wales than with Ireland. As will be seen subsequently, this is fully borne out by the character of the inscriptions on the early rude pillar-stones, and the style of the ornament on the later sculptured crosses. It was in Ireland that the peculiar Celtic patterns were most highly developed; and as a general rule, the further away we get from the locality where the art originated, the more debased it becomes. The early inscribed stones and crosses of Brittany should be compared with those of Cornwall; but up to the present time English archæo-

logists have not paid much attention to this branch of research.¹

The study of early Christian sepulchral monuments has only become perfected by degrees, as may be seen by taking a retrospective glance at what has been written about those of Cornwall. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, notices the inscribed pillar-stone at Castledôr, and Camden publishes an illustration of the base of the Cross of Doniert, at St. Cleer, in his *Britannia* (1606); but it was not until William Borlase brought out his *Observations on the Antiquities of Cornwall* (1754) that any considerable number of monuments were described. Borlase devotes the twelfth chapter of his book to the "Inscribed Monuments before the Conquest", and accompanies his remarks by two plates illustrating eleven of the stones.² In Gough's additions to Camden's *Britannia* (1789) eight stones are figured, but no new examples brought to light. Samuel Lysons, in his *Magna Britannia* (1814), gives illustrations of three of the rude pillar-stones with inscriptions, already made public by Borlase, and four of the sculptured crosses not before drawn. An article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1805 describes ten of the Cornish crosses, but the accompanying engravings are very poor. Borlase and most subsequent writers on the subject, are indebted to Edward Lhwyd, a writer of the seventeenth century, for having first given satisfactory readings and translations of the inscriptions, and assigned a correct date to the monuments. The labours of Lhwyd in this direction have been ably carried on during the present century by Professors Rhys and Westwood, H. Longueville Jones, the Rev. W. Jago, Æmilius Hübner, and others.

Since the establishment of the British and county archæological societies (from about 1845) the work has been systematically continued, enabling Æ. Hübner (1876) to catalogue twenty-two inscribed stones from Cornwall of the pre-Norman period. The chief contributors to

¹ The best paper on the subject is by M. C. de Keranflec'h, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iii, 3rd Series, p. 369.

² Plate 30.—St. Clement's, Truro; Castledôr; Lanyon; Barlowena Bottom; Mawgan; and Worthyvale. Plate 31.—St. Clere, St. Blazey's, St. Michael, and Camborne.

the archæological journals have been W. Haslam to the *Journal* of the British Archæological Institute, R. Edmonds and W. Haslam to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and the Rev. W. Jago to the *Journal* of the Royal Institution of Cornwall.

Although the British Archæological Association visited Cornwall at the time of the Penzance Congress in 1876, no papers of any importance have appeared in the *Journal* relating to the crosses or inscribed stones of this country. J. T. Blight has published the most complete collection of Cornish crosses in his book on the subject, and several are illustrated in Sir J. Maclean's *Deanery of Trigg Minor* (1868).

As in most of the other Celtic portions of Britain, the pre-Norman Christian monuments of Cornwall may be divided into two classes : (1), the rude pillar-stones with debased Latin inscriptions ; and (2), sculptured crosses with ornament, figure, sculpture, and Hiberno-Saxon minuscule inscriptions.

The Rude Pillar-Stones.—The geographical distribution of rude pillar-stones with inscriptions shows that they are of Celtic origin, as this class of sepulchral monument is only found in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Devon, and Cornwall, but not in the Saxon or Danish parts of England. The inscriptions are of three kinds : (1), those in Oghams ; (2), those in debased Latin capitals ; and (3), those in Oghams and debased Latin capitals, both on the same stone. The first class, with Oghams only, exists chiefly in the south-west of Ireland ; the second class, with debased Latin capitals only, in Scotland, Wales, Devon, and Cornwall, but not in Ireland ; and the third class, with biliteral inscriptions, in South Wales and Devon. All the rude pillar-stones in Cornwall belong to the second class, as up to the present time only one Ogham inscription has been discovered in the west of England, which came from Fardel in Devonshire, and is now in the British Museum. It is a very fine specimen of the biliteral class of inscription, the Oghams being cut on the angles of the stone, and names in debased Latin capitals on both faces: SAGRANVI on the front, and FAXONI MAQVIRINI on the back.

It is probable that all the rude pillar-stones with in-

scriptions, found in the Celtic portions of Great Britain, are of Christian origin, and they are classed as such by Hübner, who is one of the greatest authorities on the subject. The chief reasons for believing these monuments to be Christian are—(1), because they are entirely different from the Roman pagan sepulchral stones, and in a very large majority of cases they are found in or near churches; (2), because many of the stones are marked with the Chi-Rho monogram, or early forms of the cross, there being no evidence to show that these symbols were added after the inscription; (3), because several of the names mentioned are either those of early saints, such as Paulinus and Saturninus, or are Scriptural, or are distinctly Christian, such as Martini and Boneminorius; (4), because the persons commemorated are in some cases specified in the inscriptions as being officers of the Church, such as bishops and priests; and (5), because the formula of the inscription is occasionally of a distinctly Christian character, such as “*Requiescit in pace.*”

Up to the present time seventeen rude pillar-stones, with inscriptions in debased Latin capitals, have been discovered in Cornwall at the following places:—Barlowena Bottom, Castledôr, St. Clements, St. Columb Minor, St. Cubert, St. Endellion, Hayle, St. Hilary, Indian Queens, St. Just in Penwith, Lanivet, Lanyon, Mawgan, Nanscowe, Tregony, Welltown near Cardynham, Worthyvale.

The monuments upon which the inscriptions are carved are monoliths of the stone of the district, generally granite or hard volcanic rock, in the natural state, without any attempt at artificial tooling or shaping of the stone. Some have been found used as building materials in old churches, and others are still in their original position, placed upright in the ground. The height of the stones varies from 3 ft. 6 in. to 9 ft., the tallest ones being those of St. Clement's, near Truro, and at Lanyon in the parish of Madron. In most cases they stand in churchyards, although there are exceptions, as at Lanyon, where the *Mên Scryfa* is on a desolate moor, far away from any habitation.

The inscriptions are rudely incised, and the shape of the letters resembles the rustic attempts to imitate the Roman capital alphabet which occurs on the same class

of monument in other parts of Great Britain. The chief palæographical peculiarity of the inscriptions is the joining of two letters together into one, as in the case of the *m* in *TYMVLO* in the Hayle stone, and the placing of the letter *i* in a horizontal position, as in the *BOXEMIMOR*—stone at Rialton House in the parish of St. Columb Minor. The form of the letter *g* on the *VLCAGNI* stone at Nanscow, near Wadebridge, is also peculiar, and resembles the same letter on lapidary inscriptions in Wales,—at Llanfihangel, or Arth, and Llandeilo Vawr in Carmarthenshire, at Penmachno in Carmarthenshire, Gwytherin in Denbighshire, and other places, generally occurring in names which terminate in *-AGNVS* or *-AGLVS*.

The inscriptions are, with one exception (that at Hayle), placed so as to read vertically, from the top of the stone downwards, and generally record little beyond the name of the deceased and that of his father. As an example of the simplest kind of formula which occurs we may take the *Mên Seryfa* at Lanyon, which is inscribed *RIALOB-RANI FILI CVNOVALI* (Rialobran, son of C'unoval). There are eight inscriptions of this class—at St. Clement's, St. Columb Minor, St. Cubert, Lanyon, Mawgan, Tregony,¹ Wadebridge, Welltown. The longest of these is the one at Tregony, which records four names,

NONNITA ERCILI VIRICATI TRIS FILI ERCILINI

Sometimes, in addition to the name, *IIIC IACIT* is added, as at St. Michael, St. Endellion, Castledôr; or *IC IACIT*, as at St. Just in Penwith, Worthyvale. As an example of



Inscribed Stone at Worthyvale.

this class we may take the inscription at the last named place, which runs,

LATINI IC IACIT FILIUS MAGARI

¹ Built into the wall of Cuby Church, in the town of Tregony.

The most elaborate formula is on the stone at Hayle—

..CEM .. REQVIEVIT CVNANDE HIC
TVMVLO IACIT VIXIT ANNOS XXXIII

The statement of the age of the deceased, although very common on Roman pagan sepulchral monuments, is almost unknown on the rude pillar-stones. "*Hic in tumulo jacit*" occurs at Llanerfyl in Montgomeryshire, and at Trawsfynydd in Merionethshire; "*In hoc tumulo jacit*" at Cramond, near Edinburgh, and Abercar in Brecknockshire; and "*Hic jacet in tumulo*" at Yarrowkirk in Selkirkshire.

In most of the inscriptions the name of the father of the deceased is given thus, "A, the son of B". Properly, the two names and the word "son" should be in the genitive case, meaning "the tomb of A, the son of B"; but in districts remote from centres of learning the rules of grammar are often set aside. The following variations occur on the Cornish stones:—

Two names and word "son" in the genitive,—St. Columb Minor, "Bonemimori filli Tribuni"; St. Cubert, "Conetoci fili Tegernomali"; Wadebridge, "Ulcagni fili Severi".

Two names and word "son" in genitive; but the genitive formed wrongly, as if from names terminating in *us*,—St. Clement's, Truro, "Vitali fili Torrici".

Two names in the genitive, but word "son" in the nominative,—Worthyvale, "Latini filius Magarii"; Tre-gony, "Nonnita Ercili Vivicati tris fili Ercilini".

The word "son" placed last instead of in the middle; thus, "A, of B the son",—St. Endellion, "Brocagan Naddotti filius"; St. Blazy, "Ciloron Vilici filius".

In the seventeen Cornish inscriptions we get the following thirty names,—

NAME.	PLACE.
Annicuri	Lanivet
Bonemimori	St. Columb Minor
Brocagni	St. Endellion
Cnegumi	Mawgan
Conetoci	St. Cubert
Cunnaide	Hayle
Cunomori	Castledôr
Cunovali	Lanyon

NAME.	PLACE.
Dinni	Barlowena
Drustagni	Castledór
Ercili	Tregony
Ercilini	Tregony
Genains	Mawgan
Latini	Worthyvale
Magarii	Worthyvale
Nadotti	St. Endellion
Nonnita	Tregony
Quenatanei	Barlowena
Rialobrani	Lanyon
Selius	St. Just in Penwith
Severi	Wadebridge
Suani	St. Michael
Tegernomali	St. Cubert
Torrici	St. Clement's, Truro
Tribuni	St. Columb Minor
Ulcagni	Wadebridge
Urchani	Welltown
Vailathi	Welltown
Viricate	Tregony
Vitali	St. Clement's, Truro

According to Hübner the following are of Latin derivation,—Latinus, Severus, Tribunus, Vitalis; and Bonemimorius, Christian. The remainder are more or less Celtic, and may be classified thus, according to the law of their derivation as shown by the terminations,—

-cus,—Conetocus, Quenataucus, Torricus, Ercilincus.

-mus,—Cnegumus.

-nus,—Rialobranus, Urchanus, Drustagnus, Ulcagnus, Brocagnus.

-lus,—Cunovalus, Senilus.

-rus,—Cunomorus, Annicurus.

-tus,—Vailathus, Viricati, Nadottus, Nonnita.

The termination -agni seems to be a common one, as in Brocagni, Drustagni, Ulcagni.

The inscription at Wadebridge contains two names, Ulcagni¹ and Severi, both of which are also found on stones in Carmarthenshire; the former at Llanfihangel ar Arth, and the latter at Llan Newydd.

The Chi-Rho monogram occurs on an inscribed stone at St. Just, and also on two uninscribed stones,—one at

¹ The name Ulcagni occurs on an Ogham-inscribed stone at Ballyhawk, co. Cork. (Sir S. Ferguson's *Ogham Inscriptions*, p. 96.)

St. Just, taken from St. Helen's Chapel, and the other at Phillack. The Christian monogram, although common on sepulchral monuments in Italy and Gaul, is very rare in Great Britain; the only other instances being at Penmachno, in Carnarvonshire, and at Kirkmadrine and Whithorn in Wigtownshire. The earliest instance of the occurrence of the Chi-Rho monogram at Rome belongs to the year 323; and its use in Gaul, as shown by dated inscriptions, extended from A.D. 377 to 493. Although the monogram was the principal symbol of Christ in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, it was after that time almost entirely superseded by the cross. Its presence on the Cornish stones is, therefore, evidence of their great age.



Inscribed Stone at Wadebridge.

The cross exists on four of the inscribed pillar-stones of Cornwall,—at Castledôr, St. Clement's (Truro), St. Endellion, Lanyon. The stone at Castledôr is inscribed *DRVSTAGNI HIC IACIT CVNOMORI FILIVS*, and has upon it two small incised crosses; one of the plain Latin form, and the other T-shaped.

The pillar at St. Clement's, near Truro, is inscribed *VITALI FILI TORRICI*, and has on the top a circular cross in relief. This monument is altogether a very remarkable one, especially if it could be established that the date of the inscription and the cross were the same. As a general rule, however, the earliest crosses are incised, and not in relief. The stone now stands at the entrance of the Vicarage garden at St. Clement's, and is 9 feet high.

The Mên Scryfa, at Lanyon, has two crosses on it rudely carved. The stone at St. Endellion has also two incised crosses upon it; one on the back, and the other on the front.

Sculptured Crosses.—The rude pillar-stones just described are proved by the inscriptions upon them to have been sepulchral monuments; but the sculptured crosses of a later period were probably, in most cases, erected for a different purpose, either to mark the boundary of sanctuary, like the crosses at Ripon, or placed in churchyards and by the wayside to encourage devotion. A few may, perhaps, have been commemorative; that is to say, not marking the actual burial-place of any one, but set up in honour of some person who was venerated in the locality, but whose tomb may have been elsewhere. J. T. Blight, in his work on the subject, illustrates one hundred and ten crosses, and mentions sixty-two others; but since his time a large number of other examples, amongst which are the finest of all, have been discovered during the restoration of churches; so that now more than two hundred and twenty are known to exist.

In dealing with these monuments, the chief points to be considered are the forms of the crosses, the inscriptions, the ornamental features, and the symbolism of the figure-sculpture.

The Forms of the Crosses.—The rudest kind of cross found in Cornwall is an upright slab roughly squared, and sometimes rounded at the top, having a plain Latin cross in relief upon it. Next to this in simplicity comes the wheel-cross, the head of which is circular, without piercings of any kind, and of greater diameter than the width of the shaft below. The cross is carved in relief on the face of the stone, and either enclosed within the circle at the top, or sometimes having a shaft continued some way down. The former is by far the commonest type of cross found in Cornwall, and may be called *par excellence* THE Cornish cross.

A curious variation of the wheel-cross is produced by making projections either where the head joins the shaft, or at the points where the horizontal and top arms of the cross, in relief, cut the circumference of the circular head. The only other example of this class of cross out of Cornwall is at Penmon Priory in Anglesey.

The most highly developed form of cross is that derived from Ireland, with a circular ring connecting the four arms, and leaving four hollows which are pierced right through the stone. This type of cross is generally ornamented either with interlaced work, bosses in relief, or figures of the crucified Saviour. A marked peculiarity, which only occurs in Cornwall, is the cusping of the four hollows between the circular ring and the arms. On some of the Irish crosses, as at Monasterboice, there is a single projection inside the ring, something like a cusp, but in Cornwall there are three. One of the best examples of this method of treatment is to be seen on the cross in the churchyard at St. Columb Major. Sometimes the ring round the cross is flattened as well as the ends of the arms. In addition to the crosses with round heads and rings there are several stones cut into the shape of crosses of the plain Latin form.

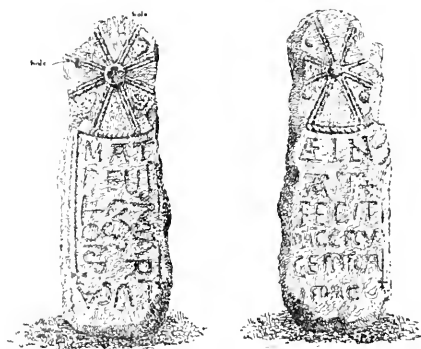
The Cornish crosses are generally made out of one stone, and morticed into a circular or rectangular block at the bottom. Near St. Cleer there is an elaborately carved base which will be described subsequently. As a general rule, the crosses on the face of the heads and shaft are in relief, but sometimes they are incised.

The Inscriptions.—There are four crosses with interlaced work and inscriptions in Cornwall,—at St. Cleer, at Lanherne, at Cardynham, and at Tintagel. At Camborne there is a sepulchral slab with a Celtic key-pattern and an inscription. There are two other inscribed stones without ornament, which appear from the letters and the names mentioned to be of the same period as the others: one, the base of a cross at Lanhadron, near St. Austell; and the shaft of a cross at Lanteglos. The letters of the inscriptions are those found in the Hiberno-Saxon MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, either minuscules, capitals, or mixed.

The base of the cross near St. Cleer is 4 ft. 7 in. high, and stands in a field between Redgate and St. Cleer's Church. It is ornamented with plaitwork on the sides, and on the face is inscribed, in minuscules, "Doniert rogavit pro anima". An attempt has been made to identify Doniert with a petty prince of Cornwall called Dungeneth,

who was drowned A.D. 872, and this date corresponds very well with the character of the ornament as well as with the lettering of the inscription. The base of this cross is known locally as "the other half stone", it being supposed that a cross-shaft, 7 ft. high, which stands close to it, once formed part of the same monument.

The cross now at Lanherne Nunnery came originally from Roseworthy, in Gwinear, and is much the most beautiful specimen of an elaborately decorated cross in Cornwall. It has a figure of the crucifixion on the head, interlaced work on all four sides, and two inscribed panels. On the front, "✠ Bseidetima"; and on the back, "Rūhol". The meaning is here very uncertain, as in the case of similar inscriptions at Carew and Nevern in Pembrokeshire.



Trevena, Tintagel.

The cross at Tintagel is a very interesting one, having a circular head ornamented with triquetra-knots, and inscriptions in mixed capitals and minuscules on two faces. On the front, "Ælnat fecit hanc crucem pro anima sua" (Ælnat made this cross for his soul); on the back the names of the four Evangelists, "✠ Mathens, Marcus, Lucas, Johannis."

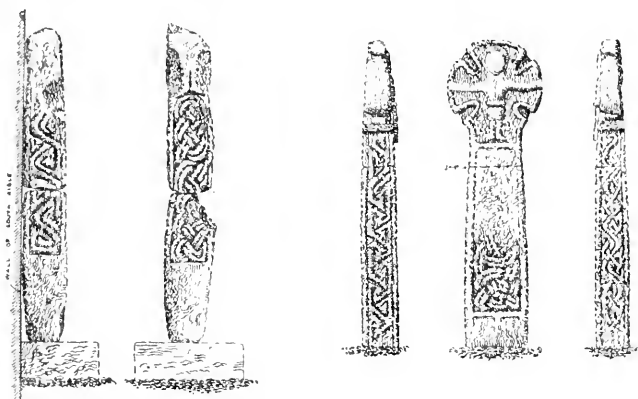
The inscription on the cross at Cardynham is on the top panel of the shaft, and is illegible, except the letter R, which is of the minuscule shape. The cross is ornamented with interlaced work.

The sepulchral slab at Camborne has a cross in the centre, and a key-pattern border round the edge. It is

inscribed in mixed minuscules and capitals, "Leviut jussit hac altare pro anima sua" (Leviut ordered this slab for his soul).

The plain shaft now in the Rectory grounds at Lanteglos, by Camelford, came from Castlegoff Farm, and is inscribed in mixed letters in the Saxon language, "✠ Ælself & Genereth wrohte thysne sybstel for Ælwyneys soul & for heysel" (✠ Ælself and Genereth wrought this family pillar for Ælwyney's soul and for themselves).

The base of the cross at Lanhadron, near St. Austell, is devoid of ornament, but is inscribed on the top in minuscules almost effaced, "Alsne curavit hanc crucem pro anima sua" (Alsne prepared this cross for his soul).



W.
St. Erth Churchyard.

S.
Sancreed. Vicarage Gate.

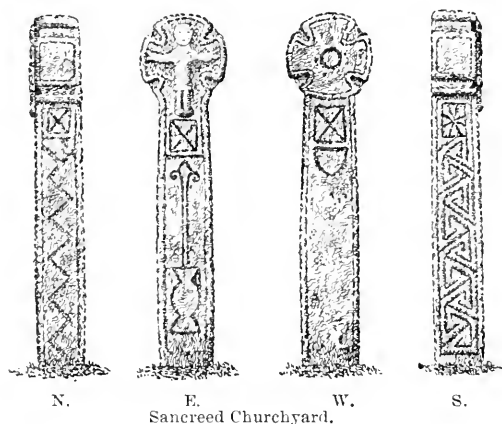
We have thus names mentioned in these inscriptions as follows :—Ælnat (Tintagel), Ælself, Ælwyneys (Lanteglos), Alsne (Lanhadron), Genereth (Lanteglos), Doniert (St. Cleer), Ruihol (Lanherne). The large proportion of Saxon names indicates a late period, possibly the tenth century.

The formulæ occurring in the inscriptions are as follows :—"Wrohte thysne sybstel for ... soul and for hysel", Lanteglos; "Fecit hanc crucem pro anima sua", Trevillet; "Rogavit pro anima", St. Cleer; "Preparavit hanc crucem pro anima sua", Lanhadron.

The formula at Lanteglos corresponds with those found in the north of England, couched in the vernacular tongue. The others in Latin resemble those on the

crosses of the ninth century at Llantwit Major and Margam in Glamorganshire.

The Ornamental Features.—Most of the ornament on the Cornish crosses is badly designed and rudely executed. The hard granite stone had, perhaps, something to do with this, for as a general rule a good material for carving in a particular locality produces good workmen. Most of the patterns are evidently debased copies of those beautiful forms of ornament which if they did not originate in Ireland were at all events so highly developed there in the eighth and ninth centuries as to constitute a separate style of art. The three great classes of Irish patterns, namely interlaced work, key-patterns, and spirals, are all represented in Cornwall. The best



examples of interlaced work are on the crosses at Cardynham, Lanherne, Phillack, Sancreed, and St. Cleer, consisting chiefly of plaits, the Stafford or triquetra-knot, rings and twists. Interlaced rings occur at Cardynham.

One of the most interesting bits of interlaced work is on the cross at Lanherne and also at Sancreed, consisting of a broad, waving band and a cord tied in Stafford knots alternately on each side of it. This pattern is to be found on the beautiful little coped stone at Bexhill in Sussex. The key-patterns are of the simplest possible kind, the best examples being at Trekeek, Cardynham, and Sancreed. The spirals are so badly executed that it is impossible to say whether they are degraded forms of the Celtic volute or of the spiral scrolls of foliage so common

in the north of England. These debased spirals are to be seen on the crosses at Cardynham, Lanivet, Lanhy-drock, Trekeek, and St. Teath.

On the cross at Cardynham there is a peculiar pattern, which seems to be a very bad imitation of the chains of rings which are so characteristic of the Manx crosses.

Besides the forms of ornament already described there are some curious nondescript methods of decoration consisting of zigzag lines, a series of punched holes, and the like.

Figure-Sculpture.—The only figure-sculpture found on the pre-Norman Cornish crosses is the crucifixion; and here, as in the ornament, the art is extremely primitive. The Saviour is represented clothed in the tunic, and with the limbs straight, and head and body unbent, after the Byzantine fashion of representing Our Lord alive upon the cross. The mediæval method of representing the crucifixion after death had taken place was introduced in the twelfth century, and became common in the thirteenth.

No. I.

LIST SHOWING GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN CORNWALL.

*Marked * are inscribed.*

Parish and Place.	Inscribed or Pillar-Stones.	Crosses.	Parish and Place.	Inscribed or Pillar-Stones.	Crosses.
Advent (St. Adwen): ¹			Cross Park		
In field near church .		1	Lavethan (4)		
			Trewardale (2)		
Altarnun (St. Nonna):			Peverell's Cross		10
In churchyard					
Vicarage garden			Boconnoc (?):		
Trekennick			In grounds (2)		
Tresmeake Bridge			Druid's Hill		3
Two gates					
Nr. St. Vincent's Mine		6	Bodmin (St. Petrock):		
			Outside Gaol		
Blisland (St. Protasius):			Berry Tower		
Village					
St. Pratt's Well			<i>Carried forward</i>		<u>20</u>

¹ From G. Oliver's *Monasticon Exoniensis*, and Maclean's *History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor*.

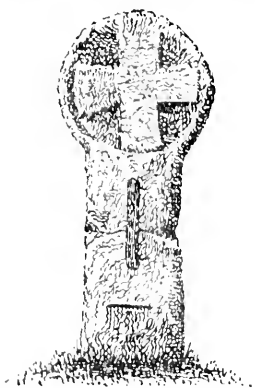
Parish and Place.	Insc., etc.	Crosses.	Parish and Place.	Insc., etc.	Crosses.
<i>Brought forward</i>		20	<i>Brought forward</i>	5	47
In field over well			Godolphin :		
Carminnow		4	In churchyard		
			Shernon Cross		2
Camborne (St. Martin) :					
*In church, altar-slab	1		Gulval (St. Gudwal) :		
Church wall, E. end			Rosemorran		1
Outside Institute			*Blewbridge	1	
Pendarves (2)					
Trevu (2)		6	Gunwalloe (St. Winwo-		
			lans) :		
Cardynham (St. Menbre-			In churchyard		1
dus) :					
*In churchyard (2)	1		Gwennap (St. Weneppa) :		
Chancel wall			Tregulow		1
*Welltown	1				
Callywith			Gwinear (St. Winniernus) :		
Deviack			In churchyard		
Treslay Cross			On Connor Down		2
Treslay Down		6			
			Gwythian (St. Gothian) :		
Crowan (St. Crewena) :			In churchyard		1
Clowance					
Near Carnal Green		2	Helston (St. Michael) :		
			In churchyard wall		
Cuby (St. Keby) :			Cross Street		
*In wall of church	1		Mr. Baddeley's gar-		
			den (2)		4
Cury (St. Corentinus) :			Illogan (St. Euloganus) :		
In churchyard		1	In churchyard		1
Duloe (St. Keby) :			Kea (?) :		
Bosent Cross		1	In churchyard		1
Egloshayle (St. Helie ?) :			Landewednack (St. Win-		
In churchyard (2)			wolans) :		
Three Hole Cross			Lizard Town		1
Washaway					
Pencarrow		5	Lancast (SS. Welvela and		
			Sativold) :		
Forrabury (St. Sympho-			In churchyard		
rianus) :			On Lancast down		2
Outside churchyard		1			
			Lanhydrock (?) :		
Fowey (St. Nicholas) :			In churchyard		1
*Castledor	1				
			Lanivet (?) :		
Gerrans (St. Gerendus) :			*In wall, old building	1	
In churchyard		1	In churchyard (2)		
<i>Carried forward</i>	5	47	<i>Carried forward</i>	7	65

Parish and Place.	Inse., etc.	Crosses.	Parish and Place.	Inse., etc.	Crosses.
<i>Brought forward</i>	7	65	<i>Brought forward</i>	8	94
Fenton Pits			Hea, in a wall		
St. Ingonger			Trembath		
Tremoor			Tremethick		
Bodwannick		6	Trengwainton Cairn		
Lanlivery (SS. Manacens and Dunstan):			Trezeife, in grounds		
No Man's Land		1	Pare-an-growze		
Lanteglos, by Camelford (S. Julitta):			*Men Scryfa	1	10
*Rectory Grounds (4)	1		Mawgan in Meneage (St. Mauganus):		
Trevia			*Mawgan Cross, near church	1	
Trewalder		5	Mawgan in Pyder:		
Lawhitton (St. Michael):			*Lanherne	1	
Trenille		1	Mawgan Cross		1
Lelant (St. Ewinas):			Michaelstow (St. Michael):		
In churchyard			In churchyard		1
Cemetery (2)			Minster (St. Merthiana):		
Church town			Trekeek Farm		1
Below church, in hedge			*Worthyvale	1	
Lelant Lane		6	Mullyon (St. Melanus):		
Lesnewth (St. Michael):			Pradannack		1
In churchyard		1	Mylor (St. Milorus):		
Lewannick (St. Martin):			In churchyard		1
In church town			Northill (?):		
Holywell			Trebartha		1
Trelaske		3	Padstow (St. Petrock):		
Ludgvan (St. Ludowa- nns):			In churchyard		
In churchyard (2)			Dr. Marley's garden		
Whitcross		3	Prideaux Place		3
Luxulyan (SS. Cyricus and Julitta):			Penzance (formerly in the parish of Madron):		
Vicarage garden			Market Place		1
Methrose			Perranzabuloe (St. Piran):		
Trevellan		3	Perran Sands		1
Madron (St. Paternus):			Phillack (?):		
In churchyard			In churchyard (3)		3
In church tower			*In gable of S. porch	1	
Boscathnoe					
Boswharton					
<i>Carried forward</i>	8	94	<i>Carried forward</i>	13	118

Parish and Place.	Insc., etc.	Crosses.	Parish and Place.	Insc., etc.	Crosses.
<i>Brought forward</i>	13	118	<i>Brought forward</i>	17	144
Quethiock (St. Hugh):			St. Clement's (St. Clement)		
In churchyard . . .		1	*Vicarage garden . . .		1
Roche (St. Geomandus):			St. Clether (St. Clederus):		
In churchyard			Basil Barton (4)		
In Rectory garden		2	Cross Gates		
St. Agnes (St. Agnes):			New Park		6
In churchyard . . .		1	St. Colomb Major (St.		
St. Austell:			Columba):		
*Lanhadron . . . 1			In churchyard (2) . . .		2
St. Blazy (St. Blaze):			*“Indian Queens” . . .		1
*Biscovey . . . 1			St. Columb Minor (St.		
St. Breage (St. Breaca):			Columba):		
In churchyard			Cross Close . . .		1
By roadside			*Rialton House . . .		1
Trevena Cross		3	St. Cubert (St. Cuth-		
St. Breock in Pyder (St.			bert):		
Briocus):			W. wall of N. transept		1
*Nanscowe . . . 1			*W. wall, church tower		1
Whitcross . . .		1	St. Day or St. Dye (?):		
St. Breward (St. Bruer-			Scorrier House grounds		2
dus):			St. Dennis (St. Dennis):		
At National Schools			In churchyard . . .		1
Middle Moor			St. Endellyon (St. Ende-		
Lanke (2)		4	lenta):		
St. Buryan (St. Bariana):			*Doydon Headland . . .		1
In churchyard			St. Enodor (St. Ennodorus):		
In church town			Near Fraddon . . .		1
Chyoone			St. Erth (St. Ercus):		
Crowz-an-wra			In churchyard (2)		
Boskenna Gate			In church town		
” Cross			Rolling Mill		
” in field			Trevean		
Nun Careg			*Hayle 1		5
Tregurnow Down			St. Feock (St. Feoca):		
Trevorgance			In churchyard . . .		1
Vellansajer		11	St. Germans (St. Germa-		
St. Cleer (St. Clarus):			nus):		
St. Cleer's Well			Carracawn		1
*Near Redgate (2)		1			
Longstone		3			
		<hr/>			<hr/>
<i>Carried forward</i>	17	144	<i>Carried forward</i>	23	165

Parish and Place.	Insc., etc.	Crosses.	Parish and Place.	Insc., etc.	Crosses.
<i>Brought forward</i>	23	165	<i>Brought forward</i>	27	189
St. Hilary (St. Hilary) :			St. Minver (St. Mene- frida) :		
*In churchyard	1		In churchyard		
Trehwela			St. Eudock churchyard		
Pemberthy, at Innis Farm		2	St. Michael churchyard		3
St. Ives (St. Hya):			St. Neot (St. Neotus) :		
Penbeagle		1	In churchyard		
St. Juliot (St. Julitta) :			Vicarage garden (3)		
In churchyard (2) . .		2	Four-Hole Cross [Temple Moor]		5
St. Just in Penwith (St. Justus) :			St. Paul (St. Paulinus) :		
*In church (2)	1		On churchyard wall		
Vicarage garden (2)			Paul Downs (2)		3
Pendeen			St. Stephen's, Saltash (St. Stephen) :		
*St. Helen's Chapel . .	1	4	Trematon		1
St. Keverne (?) :			St. Teath (St. Tetha) :		
In church town		1	In Cemetery		1
St. Kew (?) :			St. Thomas, Launceston :		
Polrode Mill		1	In churchyard		1
St. Keyne (St. Keyna) :			St. Tudy (St. Uda) :		
In churchyard		1	By road-side		1
St. Levan (St. Livinus) :			St. Wendron (St. Wen- drona) :		
In churchyard (2)			In churchyard		
Pemberth			In church porch		
Rosepletha			Merthen		3
Sawah					
Trebehor		6	St. Winnow (St. Winnocus) :		
St. Mabyn (St. Mabena) :			Respryn		1
In churchyard			Sancreed (St. Sancredus) :		
Cross Hill			In churchyard		
Colquite			W. wall of churchyard		
Pencarrow		4	By Vicarage gate		
St. Michael's Mount (St. Michael) :			Vicarage grounds		
West side		1	Anjarden, at farm		
St. Michael Penkivel (St. Michael) :			Brane		
By-road to Malpas . . .		1	Drift		7
*N.E. angle, church ?	1		Sennen (St. Senara) :		
			Outside churchyard, to west		
<i>Carried forward</i>	27	189	<i>Carried forward</i>	27	215

H. PLAIN WHEEL-CROSSES.

(a.) *Head and Shaft or Portion of Shaft.*

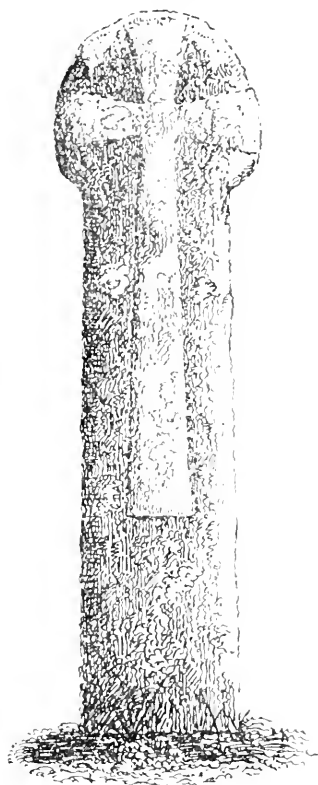
Advent.—In a field near church
 Altarnun.—Tresmeake Bridge ;
 Two Gates
 Blisland.—Lavethan ; Trewardale
 Boconnoc.—In grounds
 Bodmin.—Berry Tower ; outside
 Gaol ; in field, over well
 Camborne.—Treva
 Cardynham.—Callywith ; Deviock ;
 Treslay Down
 Egloshayle.—In churchyard (2)
 Forrabury.—Outside churchyard
 Gunwalloe.—In churchyard
 Illogan.—In churchyard
 Lanivet.—Bodwannick ; Fenton
 Pits ; Tremoor ; St. Ingonger
 Lantlivery.—No Man's Land
 Lanteglos by Camelford.—In Rec-
 tory grounds ; Trewalder
 Lelant.—Church town ; below
 church, in hedge
 Ludgvan.—White Cross
 Luxulyan.—Vicarage garden ;
 Methrose ; Trevelian
 Madron.—Trenqwainton Cairn ;
 Hea ; Pare-an-growze
 Phillack.—Churchyard, N. side
 Roche.—Rectory garden
 St. Agnes.—In churchyard
 St. Breock in Pyder.—White Cross
 St. Breward.—Lanke (2) ; Middle-
 moor
 St. Buryan.—Crowz-an-wra

St. Cubert.—W. wall, N. transept
 St. Day.—Scorrior House grounds
 St. Enodor.—Near Fraddon
 St. Hilary.—Pemberthy at Innis
 Farm ; Trehela
 St. Ives.—Penbegle
 St. Just.—Pendeen
 St. Kew.—Polrode Mill
 St. Levan.—E. churchyard wall ;
 Pemberth ; Rosepletha ; Saw-
 ah ; Trebehor
 St. Mabyn.—Cross Hill ; Colquite
 St. Minver.—St. Enodock church-
 yard
 St. Thomas, Lannceston.—Church-
 yard
 St. Wendron.—Merthen
 St. Winnow.—Respryn
 Sancreed.—In Vicarage grounds
 (Nursery) ; Anjarden (at farm)
 Semmen.—Treceve.
 Temple.—In churchyard (2)
 Trevalga.—In churchyard
 Tywardreath—Menabilly ; Trega-
 minion
 Withiel.—In Rectory garden : by
 road-side

(b.) *Head only.*

Altarnun.—In churchyard ; Vicar-
 age garden
 Blisland.—Lavethan ; Trewardale
 Camborne.—In church wall (east
 end) ; Pendarves
 Helston.—Cross Street
 Madron.—In church tower
 St. Buryan.—Boskenna, in a field
 St. Mabyn.—In churchyard
 Sancreed.—W. wall of churchyard
 Semmen.—Near Giant's Stone

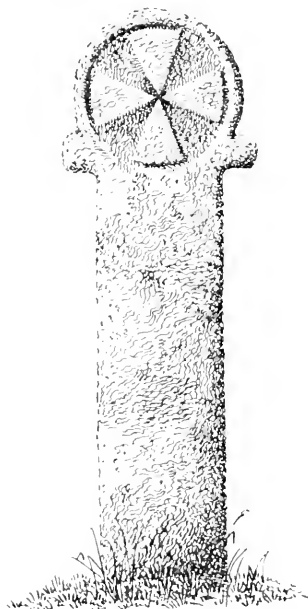
III. WHEEL-CROSSES WITH LONG,
RAISED CROSSES PASSING
BELOW NECK.



Camborne.—Pendarves
Cury.—In churchyard
Gerrans.—In churchyard
Gwennap.—Tregullov
Helston.—Mr. Baddeley's garden
Landewednack.—Lizard town
Lelant.—Cemetery
Lewannick.—Holywell
Ludgvan.—In churchyard
Madron.—Boswharton
Mullion.—Pradannack
St. Breage.—Trevena Cross
St. Bryan.—Boskenna Gate; Nnn
Careg; Vellansajer [den
St. Just in Penwith.—Vicarage gar-
St. Levan.—In churchyard
St. Michael's Mount.—On W. side
Sancreed.—Brane
Sennen.—Outside churchyard

Stythians.—Vicarage grounds
Warleggon.—In churchyard

IV. WHEEL-CROSSES WITH
PROJECTIONS.



(a.) *Projections at Neck.*

Altarnun.—Trekennick
Boconnoc.—On Druids' Hill
Camborne.—Outside Institute
Eglosayle.—Three-Hole Cross
Gwinear.—On Connor Down
Gwythian.—In churchyard
Lancast.—Lancast Down
Lanteglos by Camelford.—In Rec-
tory garden
Lesnewth.—In churchyard
Lewannick.—Holywell; Treclaske
Mylor.—In churchyard
Penzance.—Market Place
Perranzabuloe.—Perran Sands
Phillack.—In churchyard, N. side
St. Cleer.—Longstone
St. Clether.—Basil Barton (2);
Cross Gates
St. Juliot.—In churchyard

(b.) *Projections at Neck and
Top of Head.*

St. Clether.—New Park

(c.) Crucial Projections.

Blisland.—St. Pratt's Well; Peverell's Cross

Cardynham.—Churchyard; Tresslay Cross

V. WHEEL-CROSSES WITH CENTRAL BOSS.

Gwythian.—In churchyard

Lanivet.—In churchyard

Lelant.—In churchyard

Tintagel.—Bossiney

VI. WHEEL-CROSSES WITH ST. ANDREW'S CROSS.

Lelant.—In churchyard

Gwinear.—On Connor tower

VII. CROSSES WITH THE CRUCIFIXION.



Camborne.—Outside Institute; Pendarves; Trevu

Crowan.—Clowance

Gulval.—Rosemorran

Gwinear.—In churchyard

Lelant.—Cemetery (2)

Madron.—In churchyard

Mawgan in Pyder.—Lanherne; Mawgan Cross

Phillack.—In churchyard (2)

St. Breage.—By road-side

St. Buryan.—In churchyard; in church town; Chyooque; Boskenna Cross; Trevorgance

St. Erth.—In churchyard (2); in church town; Rolling Mill; Trevean

St. Feock.—In churchyard

St. Just in Penwith.—In Vicarage garden

St. Levan.—In churchyard

St. Michael's Mount.—West side

St. Paul.—On churchyard wall

St. Wendron.—In churchyard

Sancreed.—In churchyard; by Vicarage gate

Sennen.—Trevilly

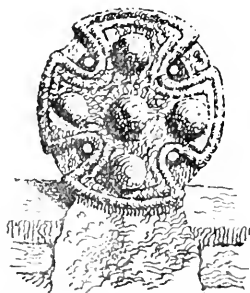
Stythians.—North of the church; Repper's Mill

Zennor.—In Vicarage garden

VIII. CROSSES WITH SPECIAL HEAD.

Sancreed.—In churchyard; by Vicarage gate

IX. CROSSES WITH FIVE BOSSES IN HEAD.



Lanteglos by Camelford.—In Rectory garden

Mawgan in Pyder.—Lanherne

Phillack.—In churchyard

St. Breage.—In churchyard

St. Buryan.—In churchyard

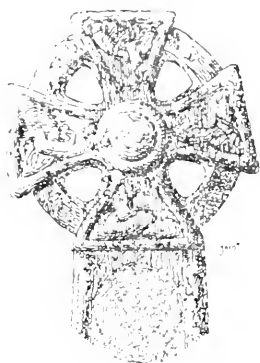
St. Erth.—In churchyard

St. Paul.—On churchyard wall

St. Wendron.—In churchyard

Tintagel.—Trevena

X. HOLED CROSSES.

Four-holed Crosses.*(a.) Without Cusps.*

- Bodmin.—Carminnow
 Cardynham.—In churchyard
 Lanviet.—In churchyard
 Lewannick.—Trelaske
 Mawgan in Pyder.—Lanherne
 St. Breage.—In churchyard
 St. Buryan.—In churchyard
 St. Erth.—In churchyard
 St. Minver.—St. Michael church-
 yard
 St. Neot.—Four-hole cross, Temple
 Moor
 St. Paul.—On churchyard wall
 St. Teath.—In Cemetery
 St. Tudy.—By road-side

(b.) With Cusps.

- Padstow.—Prideaux Place ; Dr.
 Marley's garden

- Qnethiock.—In churchyard
 St. Breward.—At National Schools
 St. Columb Major.—Churchyard
 St. Wendron.—In churchyard

Three-holed Crosses.

- Egloshayle.—Three-hole cross
 Perranzabuloe.—Perran Sands

Two-holed Cross.

- Phillack.—In churchyard

Late four-holed Crosses.

- Lawhitton.—Treniffle
 Michaelstown.—In churchyard

XI. CROSSES WITH CELTIC ORNAMENT.

(a.) Complete with Head and Shaft.

- Cardynham.—In churchyard
 Lanhydrock.—In churchyard
 Lanivet.—In churchyard (2)
 Mawgan in Pyder.—Lanherne
 Phillack.—In churchyard
 Qnethiock.—In churchyard
 Roche.—In churchyard
 St. Breage.—In churchyard
 St. Dennis.—In churchyard
 St. Levan.—In churchyard
 St. Neot.—Four-hole cross, Temple
 Moor
 St. Teath, in Cemetery
 Sancreed.—In churchyard ; by Vi-
 carage gate
 Tintagel.—Trevena

(b.) Head only, or with small Portion of Shaft.

- Padstow.—Prideaux Place ; Dr.
 Marley's garden
 St. Breward.—National Schools
 St. Columb Major.—Churchyard
 St. Minver.—St. Michael, church-
 yard

(c.) Shaft only.

- Minster.—Trekeek Farm
 St. Cicer.—Near Redgate (2)

St. Erth.—In churchyard
 St. Just.—In church (N. wall)
 St. Neot.—In churchyard

(d.) *Part of Shaft and Base only.*

Padstow.—In churchyard

XII. LATIN CROSSES.

(a.) *Plain Crosses.*

Altarnun.—Near St. Vincent's
 Mine
 Blisland.—Lavethan
 Lewannick.—In church town
 (shaft and base)
 Lndgvan.—In churchyard
 Madron.—Boscathnoe; Tre-
 mick; Trereife, in grounds
 St. Germans.—Carracawn
 St. Keverne.—In church town
 St. Minver.—In churchyard
 St. Neot.—Vicarage garden
 St. Paul.—Paul Downs (2)
 Sheviocke.—Craffthole
 Temple.—In churchyard (2)

(b.) *Incised with a Cross.*

Blisland.—Lavethan
 Northill.—Trebartha
 St. Neot.—Vicarage garden (2)
 Temple.—In churchyard (2)

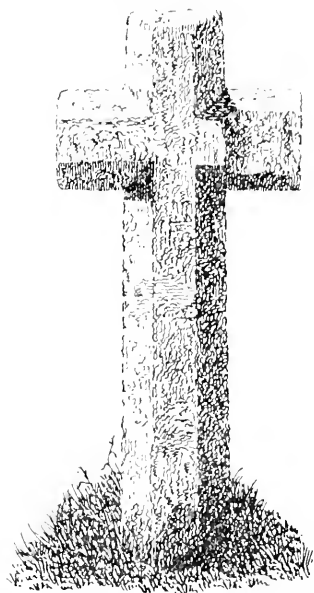
(c.) *With raised Cross on Face.*

Lancast.—In churchyard
 St. Cleer.—St. Cleer's Well

(d.) *With Crucifixion.*

Mawgan in Pyder.—Mawgan Cross
 St. Buryan.—Chyoon

(e.) *Chamfered.*



Blissland.—Cross Park
 Duloe.—Bosent
 Lelant.—Lelant Lane
 St. Keyne.—In churchyard
 St. Michael, Penkivel.—By-road to
 Malpas
 St. Stephen's, Saltash.—Trematon
 Sheviocke.—At Four Cross Roads

XIII. MISCELLANEOUS CROSSES.

Blisland.—In village . . .	1	Madron.—Trembath . . .	1
Budock.—Nangitha Cross . .	1	St. Columb Minor.—On Tres-	
Egloshayle.—Washaway . .	1	key's Hill . . .	1
Helston.—Mr. Baddeley's gar-		St. Wendron.—Step of north	
den . . .	1	door . . .	1
Lanteglos by Camelford.—Tre-		Towednack.—E. bench, porch	1
via . . .	1		—
Lewannick.—In church town	1		10

THE EARLY
NOTICES OF THE DANES IN ENGLAND
TO THE
BATTLE OF BRUNANBURGH, A.D. 937,
AND THE
REBUILDING OF THE CITY OF LONDON BY KING
ALFRED, A.D. 886.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read 2nd February 1887.*)

THE history of the Danes in England has never been treated separately, although all writers have uniformly described the principal characteristics of this fierce and warlike people, who have played such an important part in English history. The Anglo-Saxon charters, the group of annals called the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Chronicle of Melrose*, Beda, Asser, Ethelwerd, Ingulph (of doubtful authenticity), Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, William of Malmesbury, John of Oxenides, Giraldus Cambrensis, and other writers, have left scattered and incidental notices of the Danes in their texts; and I have, in the following pages, brought together the notices of their principal deeds down to the battle of Brunanburgh in A.D. 937, with a view of showing how continually their influence was exerted over the land, and to how great an extent the military spirit of the English was occupied in resisting their inroads.

The dates to which these events have been assigned by one chronicle or text do not always agree with those given by another chronicle, and this is especially so in respect of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the various MSS. of which do not correspond in all cases. Some events are known, from other sources, to have taken place one or two years later than has been stated in that work. In point of fact, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is almost an exclusive record of the struggle between the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, interspersed with a few local events of importance in the eyes of the compiler, accessions and

obits of kings and prelates, and a few meteorological and harvest notices.

The earliest notice in history of the Danes in England is—

Circ. A.D. 787.—The Danes and Northmen effect their first landing in England from three ships. (*A.-S. Chr.* [786], 787.) “These were the first ships of the Danish men who sought the land of the Angle-folk.” Æthelward gives a long and elegant account of them,—... *advecta est subito Danorum ardua non nimia classis, dromones numero tres; ipsa et advectio erat prima.*” Henry of Huntingdon says, “His autem diebus venerunt Daci cum tribus puppibus in Britanniam prædationis causa”; and after relating the death of the king’s provost of the place, continues, “Hic primus Anglorum casus a Dacis, post quem multa millia millium ab iisdem caesa sunt: et hos puppes primæ fuerunt quas huc Daci adduxerunt.”

The *Annales Cambriæ* show that the south coast of Ireland was also visited by the Danes for the first time in this same year. Of the character of these ships we now know more than we did a few years ago, by the discovery of a viking’s ship in Gokstadt, Norway, and another at Glamford Brigg, co. Lincoln, both of which have been described to this Association at the time of their reappearance. At Nydam Moss, Denmark, was also found a perfect ship, 72 feet long by 9 feet beam, of oak, with large iron bolts; and another, 44 feet long, of deal, with Roman coins as late as A.D. 217, but not later. See *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1863. (G. Stephens.)

A.D. 793.—Frequent thunders terrify the inhabitants of Northumbria, and fiery dragons flying in the air portend a severe famine; and shortly after, viz. 6th of the ides of January, the pagans, “*hæthenra mamma hergung*” (the armed assembly of the heathens) destroyed the churches in Lindisfarne Island (*A.-S. Chr.*), destroyed many monasteries in the province of York, viz., among others, Wearmouth, Streneshalh or Whitby, burned Hexham, and butchered the people.

A.D. 794.—The devastation continued. Egferth’s Monastery on the Wear’s Mouth, *i.e.*, Wearmouth, stripped. One of the leaders killed; their ships wrecked by a storm; many drowned; those who reach the shore put

to death. This took place at Donemutha (the mouth of the river Don).

A.D. 811.—In this year a charter (C. S., 332) especially refers to the Danes in the clause relating to *trivoda necessitas*.—"tribus tantum debitis . id est expeditionem 7 arcis munitionem 7 pontis instructionem *adversus paganos*."

A.D. 832.—In this year the pagans devastated Sceapige (the Island of Sheppey), off the coast of Kent.

A.D. 833.—King Egberht fights thirty-five ships of the pirates at *Carrum*, Charmouth in Dorsetshire, or perhaps Carrow in Norfolk. Great slaughter, but the enemy hold the battlefield. Two Bishops, Herefrith and Wigen, and two Prefects or Dukes, Dudda and Osmod, killed.

A.D. 835.—A large naval force of Danes appear off the coast of Wessex, and unite with the Britons against Egbyrlht, King of Wessex. He attacks them at Hengestdune, or Hengston Hill, Cornwall. The Chronicle of Melrose attributes this to 834. Florence of Worcester says that the Danes came with a great fleet to the Western Britons' land, called "Curvalia", and then the Britons made peace with them; and under their guidance the Danes devastated the borders of King Eggbright's land.

A.D. 837.—They are defeated, in thirty-three ships, at Southampton by Wulfheard; and at Portland they gain a victory over Duke Æthelhelm, who is killed.

A.D. 838-9.—Duke Herebright and others killed in "Merscware", the marsh-land at the south of Kent. The Danes overrun Kent, Mercia, and East Anglia, especially Canterbury, Rochester, and London.

A.D. 840.—King Æthelwulf fights thirty-five ships at Carrum (Charmouth), but the Danes hold the field. Earle states that this annal looks like a repetition of the annalist's notice of A.D. 833; but both are found in all the copies of the *Chronicle*, Saxon and Latin.

A.D. 847.—Bishop Ealchstan and Duke Osric overcome the Danes with great slaughter at Pedridan-muthan, the mouth of the river Parret. This river of the south-west of England probably was the site of the battle of Brumanburh, as I shall endeavour to show.

A.D. 851 or 853, they are defeated at Wieganebeorh, or Wenbury, co. Devon, by Ceorl, Prefect, and the forces of

the county of Devon. King Æthelstan of Kent (the brother of Æthelwolf) and Duke Ealcher gain a naval victory over the Danes at Sondwic in Kent (*i.e.*, Sandwich). They capture nine ships, and the rest fly. Earle sees in the capitals with which some of the words of the *A.-S. Chr.* of this year are written the representation of the national exultation at so novel and promising an event as a naval victory over the vikings.

For the first time the Danes pass the winter in England, in Thanet. In the same year three hundred and fifty ships ascend the Thames, capture Canterbury and London, and put Beorhtwulf, King of the Mercians, and his army to flight. Then they proceed southward to Surrey; but King Æthelwulf and his son Æthelbald overcame them at Aclea, or Ockley, with great slaughter.

A.D. 853-4.—Ealhere with the Kentish forces, and Huda with the Surrey men, attack the Danes in Thanet, and get the better of them; but many are killed or drowned on each side, and the two English leaders are slain.

A.D. 854.—This was the first year the Danes wintered in Sceapige or I. of Sheppey.

A.D. 860.—Under the account of this year the *A.-S. Chr.* says, in the time of King Ethelbald a great naval force of Danes came and attacked Winchester. Duke Osric, with the Hampshire forces, and Duke Æthelwulf, with the Berkshire men, fought against the Danes, and put them to flight, and held their ground.

A.D. 864.—Asser, under this year, relates what is said in the *A.-S. Chr.* to have taken place in

A.D. 865-6.—The pagan army winter again in Thanet, and make a firm treaty with the Kentish men, who *promise*¹ them money if they will only make peace. This is the beginning of the Danegeld, or tax to buy off the

¹ This promising of money developed in after years into an actual payment of a tax, of which notices occur under 991:—

Money paid to the Danes:—A.D. 991, “Primum decretum est tributum propter magnos horrores incolis maritimis”, £10,000; 1002, £24,000; 1007, £30,000; 1012, £8,000; 1014, to the Danes at Greenwich, £21,000; 1016, not stated; 1018, £72,000, and London, £11,000; 1039, 8 marks for each rower of 16 ships, as was done in the time of King Canute; and again, the same to each of 62 ships; 1040, £21,099, and to 32 ships, £11,048. This works out about 72 men to a ship.

Danes, and indirectly, perhaps, the beginning of our present war or income-tax, of which we ought to have celebrated the millenary festival in 1865. But mark the result. Under pretence of this peace and promised tribute, the invaders, knowing they were likely to get a greater booty by stealth than by peace, overran the interior land at night, stealing forth into the heart of, or up, the country, out of camp, and devastated the whole of East Kent.

A.D. 866.—Another great army arrives, and winters in East Anglia. There they get together a force of cavalry, and the inhabitants make peace with them.

A.D. 867.—The army of Danes works its way to York by way of the Humber Mouth, and taking advantage of the unsettled condition of Northumbria (for the people had expelled King Osbyrht, and accepted the illegitimate Ælla) take the city. The two Kings unite and attack the enemy; a terrible carnage ensues; the Northumbrians, both within and without the city, are massacred, and the remnant left alive make peace with the foreign conquerors.

A.D. 868.—The Danes proceed to Snotengaham, and winter there. Burhred, King of the Mercians, and the chief men desire Æthelred, King of Wessex, and his brother Ælfred to help them against the enemy. They attack the foreigner; but the Mercians enter into a treaty with the Danes.

A.D. 869.—The Danes return to York for a year.

A.D. 870.—About this time the Danes burn the Nunnery at Ely, and disperse the nuns, destroy the episcopal seat at Soham, overthrow Abingdon Abbey, desolate Glastonbury Abbey, destroy the Monastery of St. Oswald at Gloucester, and Bardsey Abbey, ruin the Abbey of Medeshamstead or Peterborough, invade Einulfesbiri or St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, and lay waste the monasteries around Malmesbury.

The smaller monastic institutions thus destroyed never recovered from the fatal effects of the invasion. In some cases, on the restoration of peace, the remnants of the establishments were absorbed by the larger houses in the vicinity, and the lands from which their sustenance and revenue had been derived also passed into possession of the greater houses. In this way probably Frome and

Bradford were merged into Malmesbury Abbey, and Breddun into Peterborough. The Danes appear to have thoroughly penetrated the midland counties on this occasion.

A.D. 870-1.—They winter at Thetford, defeat and put to death King Eadmund (St.), and subdue East Anglia.

A.D. 871.—Kings Æthelred and Ælfred have several engagements with the Danes at Englefield, Reading, Ashdown, Basing, and Merton. One of these is the battle of Ashdown which the “White Horse of Berkshire” is supposed to commemorate, although there can be little doubt that it is of British origin, and belongs to an earlier period.

A.D. 872.—In this year we meet with a notice of the “Pagani in Londonia”¹ in an Anglo-Saxon charter (*Cartularium Saxonicum*, Nos. 533, 534), of great importance, as showing that a great tribute was paid to the Danes in the year, which has not been noticed by the compiler of the *Chronicle*. If Alfred were the author of the *Chronicle*, as some writers suggest, it is not difficult to understand his convenient oblivion of the tribute, which would of course tell against his military reputation. Another charter in the same collection (No. 537) mentioning that the original title-deed had been carried away by the pagans, “*Libellum a paganis arreptum*”, indicates by a side-light the searching nature of the Danish invasion.

In 872 the army (that is, of the Danes) went from Reading to London, and there took up their winter-quarters, and the Mercians made peace with the army.²

The next year, 873-4, the Danish army leaving London made its way into the district of the Northumbrians, and there wintered at Torksey, in the district which is called Lindsig, *i.e.*, the northern parts of Lincolnshire.³

In 874 they wintered at Repton, on the river Trent, in Derbyshire, drove King Burhred over the sea, and subdued the whole of Mercia, giving the kingdom to Ceolwulf, “an unwise king’s thane.”

In 875 the Danes took winter-quarters by the Tyne,

¹ “*Episcopus namque hoc potissimum sentiebat . pro immenso tributo barbarorum . eodem anno quo pagani sedebant in Lundonia.*”

² *A.-S. Ch.* ; *Asser de Gestis Ælfredi*. p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*

and proceeded to Cambridge for a year; Alfred, however, attacked seven of their ships with a naval force, took one, and put the others to flight.

A.D. 876.—They go to Wareham in Dorsetshire, eluding the Anglo-Saxon army.¹ The King makes peace with them. They swore it on “*þam halgan beage*”, (the holy badge or ring”), but broke the oath, and stole away to Exeter. This year, too, they divided Northumbria among themselves.

A.D. 877.—King Alfred escapes and lies hidden at Athelney, Somersetshire. He defeats them. Division of Mercia among them.

A.D. 878-9.—They subdue and occupy Wessex; are defeated by King Alfred; battle of Ethandun,² which Dr. Thurnam identifies with Yatton, near Chippenham; Thorpe identifies it with (? Heddington), and Earle with Heddington on the Roman road from Bath to Marlborough; their Raven standard captured, and their King Guthrum or Guthorm, “The Worm” or “Dragon of War”, baptised at Aller. The font in which this ceremony may have taken place was found at the bottom of a deep, moat-like pond near the church, at the foot of a stone, into which it had been thrown, presumably at the early Norman reconstruction of the church. Earle thinks the conjecture too good to be true.

A.D. 879.—The Danes march to Chippenham in Wiltshire, and Cirencester, co. Gloucester. We now hear, for the first time, of *Vikings*,³ of whom a body assembled and sat down at Fulham on the Thames.

A.D. 880.—The settlement and division of East Anglia. Those at Fulham go over sea to “Ghent in France”, *i.e.*, Flanders, and sat there one year. The treaty between

¹ “Here the invading force deluded the national army, and got into Werham.” (Earle.)

² Among the northern men of old the ring was a sign of *wealth*. The fashion survives in the “crown” and the “wedding ring”. There are still “holy badges” upon which oaths are sworn. A martyr’s crown of glory is a *wealdor beag*. The Fr. *bague* (ring) has other cognate meanings, as *une bague au doigt*,—a feather in one’s cap. (Earle.)

³ Called by Asser “*Arx Cynuit*”. See Earle, p. 306, for a critical examination of the various places suggested for the site of the battle.

⁴ *Vik*=a creek, in which these pirates generally lurked; but *rik* also = open sea; and *viking* may mean sea-seasons, rovers of the deep.

Alfred and Guthrum is still extant.¹ To the Danes were surrendered the lands to the north and east of the following boundary:—the mouth of the Thames to the river Lea, up the river Lea to Bedford, along the river Ouse to the Watling Street, running in a north-west direction from London to Shrewsbury and Chester, where it terminates. This was a good half of the realm of England.

A.D. 881-2.—They advance into France and get horses.

A.D. 882.—Ælfred defeats them at sea.

A.D. 883-4.—They are fighting on the river Scheldt, and river Somme, Amiens.

A.D. 885.—They besiege Rochester, but raise the siege at the coming of Alfred. Ælfred's fleet defeated. The East Anglian Danes break the peace.

A.D. 886.—The Danes, in France, besiege Paris. This year, probably, not being occupied very seriously with Danish troubles in England, Alfred set about the re-erection of the city of London, which had been rendered desolate and uninhabitable. The *A.-S. Ch.* says, “þy ilcan geare gesette Ælfred cyning Lunden burg”, etc.

Æthelweard says that London city was besieged by Alfred, ...“ibi constitutus Dux Æthred custodiendi arcem.”

Simeon of Durham says: “Rex Anglorum post incendia urbium stragesque populorum Londoniam permaximam civitatem honorifice restauravit et habitabilem fecit quam Ethelredo præcipuo duci Merciorum commendavit servandam”, etc.

Henry of Huntingdon: “Alfredus rex Londoniam obse-
dit quia maxima vis Dacorum secuta fuerat Gallicanum exercitum, omnes autem Anglici statim ei subditi sunt et receperunt eum. Daci namque aufugerunt. Rex vero tradidit Ædredo duci civitatem in custodiam.”

A.D. 886.—“Ðy² ylean geare, gesette Ælfred cyning Lundenburg and him ealle Angeleyn to cyrde. þ buton Denisera monna hæf-
nedæ pres 7 he þa befeste þa burh Æþerede ealdormen to heal-
donne.

“Eodem anno refecit Ælfredus Rex Lundenburgum; et ad eum omnis Anglica natio conversa est, nisi quæ pars esset sub Danorum potestate: commisit autem eam civitatem præsidio Ætheredi ducis.”

¹ *Cart. Sax.*, Nos. 856, 857.

² Gibson; *A.-S. Chron.*; cf. Asser, *De Reb. Gest. Ælf.*, p. 102.

“In the same year King Alfred restored London, and all the Angle race turned to him that were not in the bondage of the Danish men, and he then committed the burgh to the keeping of the Alderman Æthered.”

Æthered, Duke of the Mercians, died 912. and King Eadweard took the city of London and Oxford and all the lands dependent on them.

“Eodem anno (886) Ælfred Angul Saxonum rex, post incendia urbium stragesque populorum, Londoniam civitatem honorifice restauravit et habitabilem fecit: quam genero suo Ætheredo Merciorum comiti commendavit servandam, ad quem regem omnes Angli et Saxones, qui prius ubique dispersi fuerant aut eum paganis sub (*car. sine*) captivitate erant, voluntarie converterunt, et suo dominio se subdiderunt.”¹

Flor. Wigorn. also, in adapting the passage already read from the *A.-S. Chr.*, says, “honorifice restauravit et habitabilem fecit” (restored the city with honour, and made it habitable).

The improvement in the builders’ art, and the use of stone in the rebuilding of London, are the special features of remark, and point by implication to what few will be disposed to deny, the almost universal use of wood in house-building, to which the Fire of London, nearly eight hundred years later, is unquestionably to be referred.

“Quid loquar de civitatibus et urbibus renovandis et aliis ubi nunquam ante fuerant construendis? de aulis et cubiculis regalibus, *lapideis* et *lignis* suo jussu mirabiliter constructis.”²

The *Chronicle of Melrose* also shows that King Alfred laid siege to the city of London and took it; the Angles flocked to him, and the Danes retreated; he entrusted Ethelred, the Earl of the Mercians, with the restoration of the city.

Prof. Earle sees in these several versions a manifest contradiction, for according to some London was desolate through the ravages of wars (Asser, Flor., Sim.); according to others it was in a state fit to be besieged (Æthel., Hen. Hunt., *Chr. Melr.*); and even according to Henry of Huntingdon the opportunity for the siege arose out of the abstention of important numbers who had joined the army for Gaul, implying that the normal condition at

¹ Asser, *De Reb. Gest. Ælf.*, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

that time was so populous and strong as to defy attack. The error arose from the different way of taking the word *gesette*, which means, *founded, colonised*; and some of the above authorities virtually changed it to *besat*, he besieged! Prof. Earle proposes the following solution, but not as final. London was a flourishing, populous, and opulent city, chief emporium of commerce in the island, and residence of foreign merchants. Properly it had become an Angle city, the chief city of the Anglian nation of Mercia; but the Danes had settled there in great numbers, and they had many captives whom they had taken in the late wars. Thus the Danes preponderated over the free Angles, and the latter were glad to see Alfred come and restore the balance in their favour. It was, too, of the greatest importance for Alfred to secure this city, not only the capital of Mercia, but able to do what Mercia had not done, to bar the passage of pirate ships to the upper Thames: accordingly Alfred in 886 planted the garrison of London; *i.e.*, introduced a military colony of men, and gave them land for their maintenance, in return for which they lived in and about a fortified position, under a commanding officer. "It appears to me", he continues, "that this may have been the first military occupation of Tower Hill; but this is a question for the local antiquary."

Prof. Earle would not have *Lunden burh* taken as merely equivalent to *Lunden*. The former occurs thirteen times, the latter fifty, in the *A.-S. Chr.* In one of these, 896, the Danes are said to have gone up the river Lea, and made a strong work twenty miles above *Lundenburh*; no doubt because their passage up the river Thames was interrupted. Hence the sense of this annal is,—the same year Alfred founded the *burh* of London, and he was joined by all Londoners of Angle race who were not compulsorily prevented by Danish servitude: and he committed the *burh* to Alderman Æðsered to hold. The F. text (Dom. A. viii) helps this view,—"*Her gesette Ælfred þa burh Londene and him ealle Angelecynn to cyrde.*"

The employment of stone materials in the rebuilt edifices of London city is illustrated by the following charter in the *Cartularium*:—

A.D. 889.—Ælfred, "rex Anglorum et Saxonum", grants to Uuærfrid, Bishop of Worcester,—

"In Lundonia unam curtem que verbotenus ad *antiquum petrosam* adificium, id est, æt Hwatinmudes stane a civilibus appellatur, a strata publica usque in murum ejusdem civitatis ejus longitudo est perticarum xxvi., et latitudo in superiori parte perticarum xiii. et pedum vii., et in inferiori loco perticarum xi. et vi. pedum .. et intro urnam et trutinam ad mensurandum in emendo sive vendendo ad usum sive ad necessitatem propriam ... Si autem foris vel in strata publica seu in ripa emptorali quislibet suorum [*i.e.*, episcopi] mercaverit ... thelon ad manum regis subeat: quod si intus in curte predicta quislibet emerit vel venderit thelon debitum ad manum episcopi supra memorati reddatur."¹

Curiously enough the connection of the Bishop of Worcester is also demonstrated in another charter of the same date. A.D. 899,² at Celchyð, Ælured King, Plegmund Archbishop of Canterbury, and Æthered, Duke of the Mercians (Governor of London), hold a *colloquium* concerning the restoration of the city of London. Werefrid, Bishop of Worcester, happened to be present; another account says Æthelfleda, daughter of Alfred, and wife of Æthered, also. Alfred gives land,—i ager at Æðeredes Hyðe to Plegmund for the monks of Christ Church; another to Werfrid for St. Mary's Church, Worcester:—

"Est autem via publica a flumine Tamisie dividens hæc duo jugera tendens in aquilonem. Ambo autem jugera in murum proteulantur et extra murum navium stationes tantæ latitudinis quantæ et jugera sunt inter murum. Habet vero jugerum ecclesie Christi artam semitam in occidente jugerum Wigor. æecl. artam viam ab oriente. Caput amborum jugerum semita tendens ad orientem dirimitur."³

A.D. 893.—The Danes' return to England is thus described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Thorpe's translation): "In this year the great army of which we long before spoke (under 891), came again from the east kingdom westward to Boulogne, and was there shipped, so that they in one voyage made the transit with horses and all; and they came up to the mouth of the Limen with two hundred and fifty ships.⁴ The mouth is in the

¹ *Cart. Sæx.*, 561, from Tib. A. xiii.

² The date is erroneous, probably for 886. London burnt, after its restoration, in 893. (Noorthouck, p. 13.)

³ *Cart. Sæx.*, 578, from Lamb. 1212.

⁴ The coast has now become very much altered in these parts by the erosive action of the sea. The actual place was probably Lympne, obviously connected with the river Limen, and the old Roman "*Portus Lemani.*" (Two Anglo-Saxon charters, *Cart. Sæx.*, 97, 98.)

east of Kent, at the east end of the great wood which we call Andred. The wood is in length, from east to west, one hundred and twenty miles long or longer, and thirty miles broad. The river, of which we before spoke, flows out from the Weald. On the river they towed up their ships as far as the Weald, four miles from the outward mouth, and there stormed a work. Within the fastness a few countrymen were stationed, and it was only half constructed. Then, soon after that, came Hæsten with eighty ships into the Thames' mouth, and wrought him[self] a work at Middleton (Milton, near Gravesend), and the other army one at Appledore."

A.D. 893-7 is the period of the battles between the Danes and King Alfred. They are defeated at Farnham; they besiege Exeter; Hasting, their leader, defeated at Benfleet; they plunder Chichester.

A.D. 894.—They build a fort at Shoebury on the coast of Essex; plunder along the banks of the river Thames and river Severn, and are defeated at Buttington-on-Severn. At Buttington, in Tidenham, on the peninsula between Severn and Wye, are traces of works; but less considerable than those at Buttington in Montgomeryshire, which is probably the spot indicated. There is also Boddington near Cheltenham.

A.D. 895.—The Danes proceed from Wirral to North Wales, and then make their way across to Essex.

A.D. 896.—They fortify themselves on the river Lea; their slipping destroyed; they proceed to Quatbridge on Severn (now Bridgnorth, known as late as Gibson's day as Brigge), and "there wrought a work", *i.e.*, a fortification.

A.D. 897.—They divide their forces, going either to East Anglia, Northumbria, or the Seine. About this period they burn the rich Abbey of Chertsey.

A.D. 902.—Fight with the Kentish men at Holme.

A.D. 905.—Their holdings in East Anglia harried by King Edward the Elder.

A.D. 906.—The Danes of East Anglia and Northumbria make peace at Yttingaford with King Eadweard. Thorpe suggests that this place is Hitchin. Gibson considers it to be the New Forest. It is much more likely to be a ford on the river Itchen, in Hampshire.

A.D. 910.—The Danes defeated at Tettenhall and at Wodnesfield.

A.D. 911.—The Northumbrian Danes break the peace, and are defeated with great slaughter; two kings and two jarls and many others of less degree.

A.D. 914.—They ravage the counties of Oxford and Hertford.

A.D. 914-17.—They break the peace, and are put to flight at Leighton. The dates of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and other histories differ as to the year.

A.D. 915-18.—The Danes come over in great numbers from Brittany; they proceed to South Wales, capture the British Bishop Cameleac, or, as some call him, the King Cymelgeac, in Irkenfield, and take him to their ships, but King Eadweard ransomed him for £40; they plunder Watchet and Porlock, and make their way to Ireland.

A.D. 919-20.—They are driven back in their endeavour to besiege Towcester; they go to Tempsford and build a fortress; are defeated by King Eadweard at Wigingamere (perhaps Wigmore), and at Malden are put to flight.

A.D. 921-22.—They submit to the King at Stamford; Nottingham reduced, repaired, and peopled with Englishmen and Danes.

A.D. 927.—Oda or Odo, a Dane by birth, made Bishop of Wilton, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (942-59). He restores to the see of Canterbury the lands they had seized. It is curious that a second Odo should have robbed this very church of many of its lands.

A.D. 937.—Battle of Brunanburh¹ between Æthelstan and Anlaf: "Her Æðelstan cyning lædde fyrde to Brunan byrig". (*A.-S. Chr.*, E., Laud MS.) The F. text, or Domitian, A. viii, gives—

"Her Æðestan cing and Eadmund his brøðer lædde fyrde to Brunan byri . and þar gefeht wið Anlaf . and Xþe fultumegende sigre hæfde."

"Hic factum est illud magnum et famosum bellum in Brunanbyri", etc.

Here Æthelstan King and his brother Eadmund led a force to Brunanburh, and there fought against Olaf, and, Christ aiding, had victory, and they there slew five kings and seven jarls.

¹ This is corroborated by Flor. Wig., who gives the date of 938 to the battle.

It is notable that a somewhat later copy of an original and contemporary charter in the British Museum (Cotton, viii, 17),¹ is dated, by reference to this battle, by a term overlooked by Earle and other historians :—

“Acta est hæc prefata donatio . anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jhesu Christi DCCCCXXXVIII. in quo anno bellum factum est in loco qui BRUNINGA FELD dicitur, ubi Anglis victoria data est de caelo.”

I think the word “Brunan-burh” is merely a poetical synonym for Bruninga-feld, in order to achieve an alliteration with the letter *b*. It is not unlikely that the place designated is Broomfield, a parish in co. Somerset, five miles to the north of Taunton, under the Quantock Hills, commanding fine views over the country, the river Parret, and Bristol Channel, and the hills of South Wales. There is a Bromfield in Salop, two miles to the north-west of Ludlow, near the confluence of the Olney and Teme rivers. Bromfield, in North Wales, near Chester, has also strong claims for consideration.

Notwithstanding the error of a year in the date I have no doubt whatever that the battles of Brunanburh of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and of Bruninga-feld of the Cotton Charter, are one and the same event. The stirring poem in the *A.-S. Chr.* about the fight has been faithfully translated by Thorpe, and needs no apology for its reproduction here :—

This year King Æthelstan,
lord of earls,
ring-giver of warriors,
and his brother eke,
Eadmund ætheling,
life-long glory
in battle won
with edges of swords
at Brunanburh.
The board-wall clave,
hew'd the war linden
with hammers' leavings,
Eadward's offspring,
as was to them congenial
from their ancestors,
that they in conflict oft,
'gainst every foe,

should the land defend,
treasure and homes.
The foes lay low,
the Scots' people,
and the shipmen
death-doom'd fell.
The field stream'd
with warriors' blood,
what time the sun up
at morning tide,
the glorious star,
glided o'er grounds,
God's candle bright,
the eternal Lord's,
until the noble creature
sank to its setting.
There many a warrior lay,

¹ Kemble, No. 734; *Cott. Sax.*, 727; and also the *Cod. Winton.*, 15,350, f. 23.

of javelins scatter'd.
northern men
o'er the shield shot.
so the Scots eke,
weary, war-sated.
The West Saxons forth
the live-long day,
in martial bands,
follow'd the footsteps
of the hostile nations.
They hew'd the fugitives
from behind amain
with falchions mill-sharp.
The Mercians refused not
the hard hand-play
to any of the warriors
who with Olaf,
o'er the waves' mingling,
in the ship's bosom,
the land had sought,
death-doom'd in fight.
Five lay
on that battle-stead,
young kings,
by swords laid to sleep :
so seven eke
of Olaf's jarls,
of the army countless,
shipmen and Scots.
There was put to flight
the Northmen's prince,
by need constrain'd
to the vessel's prow
with a little band.
The bark drove afloat,
the king departed
on the fallow flood,
his life preserved.
So there eke the aged
came by flight
to his country north.
Constantine,
hoary warrior ;
he needed not exult
in the falchion's intercourse ;
he of his kinsmen was bereft,
of his friends deprived,
on the trysting place
in conflict slain ;
and his son he left
on the slaughter-place
mangled with wounds,
young in warfare.

Needed not boast
the grizzly lock'd warrior
of the bill-clashing,
the old deceiver,
nor Olaf the more,
with their armies' relies ;
they needed not laugh
that they in works of war
the better were
on the battle-stead,
at the rush of banners,
the meeting of javelins,
the tryst of men,
the clash of weapons,
that on the field of slaughter they
with Eadward's
offspring play'd.
Departed then the Northmen
in their nail'd barks,
the darts' gory leaving,
on the roaring sea,
o'er the deep water,
Dublin to seek,
Ireland once more,
in mind abash'd.
Likewise the brothers,
both together,
king and ætheling,
their country sought,
the West Saxons' land,
in war exulting.
They left behind them
the carcases to share,
with pallid coat,
the swart raven,
with horned neb,
and him of goodly coat,
the eagle white behind
the carrion to devour,
the greedy war-hawk,
and that grey beast,
the wolf in the weald.
No slaughter has been greater
in this island
ever yet
of folk laid low
before this
by the sword's edges,
from what books tell us,
old chroniclers,
since hither from the east
Angles and Saxons
came to land.

o'er the broad seas
Britain sought,
proud war-smiths,

the Welsh o'ercame,
men for glory eager,
the country gain'd.

The following is the actual prayer offered by King Æthelstan before he went to the battle, in 926, with these kings :

"Æla þu dryhten æla ðu ælmihtiga God . æla eing ealra cyninga . 7 hlaford ealra paldendra . on þes mihta punaþ æle sige . 7 æle gepin peorþ to bryt . for gif me drihten þ þin seo mihtigu hand mines unstrangan heortan gestrangie 7 þ ic þurh þine þa mican mihte mid handum minum 7 nahte stranglice 7 perlice ongan mine fynd . pinan mæge spa þ hy on minre gesilþe feallan . 7 gereosan spa spa gereas Goliath ætforan Dawides ansyne . þines enihtes . 7 spa spa gereas 7 pearþ besenet Faraones fole on þære readan sæ . ætforan Moyses ansene . 7 spa spa feollan Filistei . beforan Israella folce . 7 spa spa gerias Amalech . ætforan Moisen . 7 Chananei ætforan Iesu Nane . Spa feallan 7 gereosan mine fynd under minum fotum . 7 hi ealle samod þurh ænne peg ongan me cumen . 7 þurh seofan pegas hie fram me gepican ; for bryt drihten heora papa 7 heora speord to bret 7 do drihten þ hy for meltan on minre gesilþe . spa spa peax mylte fram fyres ansyne . þ eall eorþan fole pite 7 ongyte þ ofer me is gecieged noma ures drihtnes hælendes Cristes . 7 þ þin noma drihten sy gepeorþað on minum piþer pinum . þu þe eart drihten Israella God."

The following rugged Latin form is also extant,—

"Domine Deus omnipotens rex regum et dominus dominantium in cuius manu omnis victoria consistit et omne bellum conteritur concede mihi ut tua manus cor meum corroboret ut in virtute tua in manibus viribusque meis bene pugnare viriliterque agere valeam ut inimici mei in conspectu meo cadent et corruant sicut corruit Goliath ante faciem pueri tui David et sicut populus Pharaonis coram Moysi in mare rubro . et sicut Philistini coram populo Israel ecceiderunt . Et Amalech coram Moysi et Chananei coram Iesu corruerunt sic cadant inimici mei sub pedibus meis et per viam unam convenient adversum me et per septem fugiant a me et conteret Deus arma eorum et confringet framea eorum et eliquisee in conspectu meo sicut cera a facie ignis ut sciant omnes populi terre quia invocatum est nomen domini nostri Ihesu super me et magnificetur nomen tuum domine in adversariis meis domine Deus Israel."¹

I shall conclude this imperfect sketch of Anglo-Danish annals with the hymn (also in rugged Latin) in praise of King Æthelstan's subjugation of Constantine, King of

¹ Nero, A. ii, f. 11b; Galba, A. xiv; *Carl. Sac.*, 656, 657.

the Scots, killed at Brunanburgh; the death of Sihtric, King of the Northumbrians; and overthrow of the Kings of Britain, A.D. 926,¹ from *Curt. Sax.*, No. 655, vol. ii, p. 331:

“Carta dirige gressus per maris et navium telluris que spatium ad
reges palatum;
Regem primum salute reginem et elitatum clarus quoque committis
militis armieros;
Quorum regem cum Æpelstanum ista perfecta Saxonia vivit rex
Æpelstanum perfecta gloriosa;
Ille Sictric defunctum armatum in prelia Saxonum exercitum per
totum Bryttanium;
Constantinus rex Scottorum et velum Bryttannium salvando regis
Saxonum fideles servitia;
Dixit rex Æpelstanus per Petri preconia sint sani sint longe in sal-
vatoris gratia.”²

¹ For this date and an account of the circumstances illustrated by this curious, ungrammatical translation of an Anglo-Saxon poem, cf. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ed. Thorpe), *ad an.*: “An . dccc . xxvi . Her oðeopdon fyrena leoman on norð dæle þære lyfte . 7 Sihtric æcpæl . 7 Æpelstan cyning feng to Norðhymbra rice . 7 ealle þa cyngas þe on pyssum iglande wæron he gewylde . ærest Hupal pest pala cyning . 7 Constantiu Scotta cyning . 7 Æpen penta cyning . 7 Ealdred Ealdulfing from Bebbanbyrig . 7 mid pedde 7 mid apum fryp gefestnodon on þære stope þe genemmed is æt Eamotum . on tiii . idus Julii . 7 æle deofolgeld tocpædon . 7 syppam mid sibbe tocyrdon.” (P. 199.) It is found only in the *Worcester Chronicle*, or D., viz., Tiberius, B. iv.

² MS. Cotton, Nero A. ii, f. 106, tenth century.

NOTES ON THE ROUND CHURCH TOWERS
OF GREAT LEGHS AND BROOMFIELD,
IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.

BY J. M. WOOD, ESQ.

(Read 16th May 1888.)

A CONSIDERABLE amount of valuable matter has been written during this century, for this and other kindred Societies, on the round church towers of Suffolk and Norfolk, but little has been said with reference to those of Essex. The question as to the period of the Essex towers still remains in the state of an unsolved problem, writers differing in opinion as to whether they belong to the Saxon, Danish, or Norman periods.

The object of the writer will be to describe the leading characteristics of the towers, comparing them with those of Suffolk and Norfolk, and leaving you to form your conclusions from the description given.

It has been stated in papers by Messrs. Gage, Roberts, and others, that only two round church towers exist in Essex, viz., South Ockendon and Great Leghs. But such is not the case. I believe there are six or seven; those omitted being Pentlow, Lamarsh, Birchanger,¹ and Broomfield. In the *Domesday Book* I can find no mention of Broomfield, South Ockendon, or Great Leghs churches, the entry of the respective surveys being as follows,—“Lega (as it was so called) is held by Endo by Richard; it was held by Edric for a manor and for two hides”, etc. Lion’s Hall, abutting on the church, is entered as “Laghenberia”, “was held by Turchill for a manor in the time of King Edward, for two and a half hides, etc. Now it is held of the Bishop of Bayeux, by Ralph, for the like quantity.” From thence it passed to the Mandevilles. Broomfield is entered as “Brumfelda”, and “was held by

¹ Birchanger round tower no longer exists, having been pulled down in the early part of this century.

Saulfus for a manor and for four and a half hides. Now it is held by Walter Geoffrey Mandeville, who came into England with William the Conqueror and Odo Bishop of Bayeux." South Ockendon, at the time of the Survey, formed part of the possessions of Geoffrey de Mandeville.

The churches of Great Leghs and Broomfield are situated in the middle of the country, within a few miles of Chelmsford, the distance between the two churches being only about four miles. South Ockendon is in the south-east corner of the county, and within a few miles of the river Thames, and at least twenty-five miles from either Great Leghs or Broomfield.

Great Leghs Church is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, South Ockendon to St. Mary Magdalen. Of Broomfield there is a curious question concerning the dedication of the church. In Eton's *Thesaurus* it is called St. Mary's. In an account written in the Parish Register by Philip Morant, the historian of Essex, who was vicar in 1733, the dedication is left blank. In the accounts of the churchwardens of Broomfield for the thirty-second and thirty-third years of the reign of Henry VIII. appeared the following entry:—"Item payed to the plumer for leade and soder to repayer St. Leonards Chappell xxvs."; and in 1513, "Receyved of Goodman Brundock for leade that was of the Chappell £iii iiii*s*. iii*d*. Receyved of Lawrence Smith for the timber that was of the Chappell xxiiis. iiiii*d*. Receyved of for that was of the windows of the Chappell xis. x*d*." It seems then that the "Chappell" dedicated to St. Leonard was repaired in 1542 or 1543, and in 1573 the churchwardens were receiving money for lead, timber, and windows. It would, therefore, seem probable that St. Leonard's was a chapel attached to St. Mary's Church.

On the south side of the nave, on the outside wall, is a projecting stone. It was here that the "Chappell" probably stood. The position of Great Leghs Church is on the edge of a hill overlooking some extent of country, with the river Ter in the valley below, and in close proximity to "Laghenberia" or Lions Hall which may have once formed the residence of the Mandevilles. The tower is under two diameters in height, while those of Suffolk and Norfolk are said to be three. It is 40 feet high from

existing ground-line, with an external diameter of 25 ft., its internal diameter being 17 ft., which gives a thickness of walls at base of 4 ft. The tower is perpendicular both inside and outside; but it has one offset in the inside, at a height of 17 ft. 9 in. from the ground-line, where the wall is reduced in thickness to 3 ft. At this level is a wooden floor.

The tower is at the west end of the church, the nave-walls being built into it, as shown on the drawing. Internally the tower is not a true circle; the western face, instead of being quite round, is somewhat flat. Against this the nave-roof abuts. This flatness seems to commence at the ground-line, and continues to the top of the tower. A few feet above the level of the present roof, weathering-lines can be seen on the tower, showing the outline of a roof which was evidently the original nave-roof. This flattening of the tower was for the purpose, no doubt, of making a suitable face to abut the roof against. The tower, like those of Suffolk and Norfolk, contains no trace whatever of any stairs. It is clear from base to summit, with the exception of the wooden floor before mentioned, and another floor which carries the bells at the top of the tower.

The tower is built entirely of rough local materials laid in lime, mortar, or Roman cement, without any respect whatever to courses. The material consists principally of flints and ordinary surface-gravel stones (quartz). There is, however, in the lower part of the tower, on the north side, a number of Roman tiles, besides a rough conglomerate, or natural concrete, peculiar to gravel-pits, cemented together by a solution of iron. In the main walls of the tower not a trace of freestone is to be found.

On examining the walling of the tower, the writer is led to think that the lower part, as far as the top of the buttresses, is much earlier than the upper part, one reason for this being that there is no trace of Roman tiles. The tower, externally, differs from those of Suffolk and Norfolk in two or three respects: 1st, in proportion of height to diameter; 2ndly, the before mentioned towers batter more or less, while these are perpendicular; 3rdly, this has five pilasters or buttresses spaced out at intervals on the outer circumference, whereas those of Suffolk

and Norfolk are plain, with the exception, I think, of Kirby Church tower. These buttresses form an interesting feature, being 15 ft. high by 2 ft. 6 in. wide, projecting from the face of the main walls 12 in. For a height of 7 ft. they are perpendicular, whence they batter into the main walls. The buttresses were built, no doubt, of the same material as the walls of the tower, with the exception that the right-angled quoins were formed of Roman tiles which still exist on the north buttresses, while those on the south are of barnack and limestone. The upper parts of the buttresses have all been rebuilt, and are of stone. The question which suggests itself with reference to those buttresses is, What is their function? Evidently they were not intended to support weight, on account of the small projection from the main building; therefore one is led to the conclusion that their object is an architectural ornament.

Messrs. Brock and Roberts, in papers read before this Association, state that the towers of Suffolk and Norfolk have no western door, the approach to the tower being only from the church by the tower-arch. Such is not the case entirely with Leghs, as it has a western entrance, this entrance having a handsome semicircular arch adorned with indent-work and with chevron moulding. At the back of this arch, and inside the building, is a relieving arch built of Roman tiles.

Besides this western entrance there existed a tower-arch, which has been removed, with the exception of one of the springing stones, and the space filled in with modern brickwork and stone. This latter may once have formed the tower-arch. This desecration was for the purpose of providing a gallery in the nave of the church.

Mr. Gage, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1829, on the round church towers of Suffolk and Norfolk, evidently heard of or visited Great Leghs, for he says this is an example of finished style of Norman architecture, the part above the buttresses being of a later period. This tower has, however, a west entrance, which is unusual.

Now a few words as to this unusual western entrance, which I venture to think is of much later date than the base of the tower; and to bear out this assertion, on

referring to the drawing it will be seen that immediately above and resting upon the semicircular moulding of this western entrance is part of a buttress of the same width and distance apart as the others, and which I imagine in the original design was continuous to the ground-line. If such was the case, this tower, like those of Suffolk and Norfolk, possessed originally only one entrance, and that through the tower-arch. It is further evident from the construction of the doorway internally that it is of subsequent date to the original design. It seems to me, then, that Mr. Gage may be in error in attributing this tower to the finished style of Norman architecture, and that he came to his conclusions from the western entrance.

The upper part of the tower is pierced by six windows or loop-holes, the heads and quoins of the windows being of stone slightly pointed, as shown. Two of the windows are immediately above the western entrance, two on the north and two on the south faces, three being at the first floor level; the remaining three being 12 ft. higher up the tower, and immediately above the lower windows. The disposition of these windows gives to the tower an appearance of one or more stories. These windows or openings are 1 ft. wide and 3 ft. 6 in. high, being deeply splayed on the sides in the inside, where the opening is 4 ft. 9 in. high and 3 ft. 9 in. wide, the quoins inside being rough stonework. Over these openings are rough oak lintels, above which are turned brick relieving arches. This stonework and pointed windows also denote that the upper part of the tower is of later date. In the main walls of the lower part of the tower, not in the upper, not a particle of stone is to be found except in the windows. The top part of the tower is quite plain, being covered by an octagonal steeple of oak-shingles, and contains five bells, cast in 1634 by Miles Grey of Colchester.

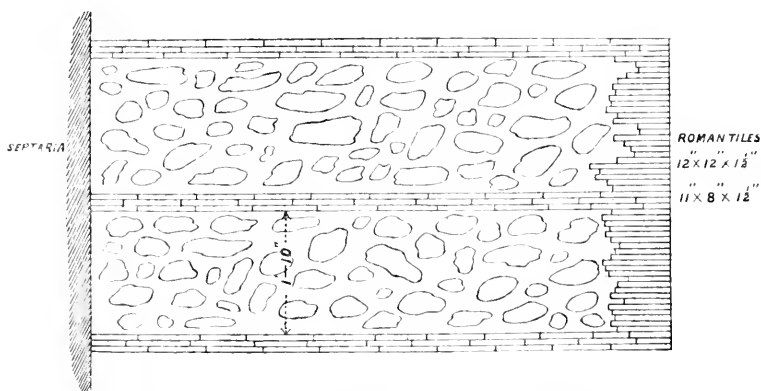
We now come to Broomfield Church tower, which is on the Roman road leading from Chelmsford to Braintree, and is situated on rising land. The tower is under one and a half diameter in height (measuring from present floor-level), being 33 ft. high, with an external diameter of 23 ft., and an internal diameter of 15 ft., having

walls 4 ft. thick. The tower is perpendicular inside and outside, the walls being the same thickness throughout. The tower is at the west end of the church, being circular internally; but externally not so regular, the masonry being thicker in the neighbourhood of the tower-arch, the junction between the nave and the tower not being bonded together, as far as I could judge, the ridge of nave-roof being level with the top of the tower. The tower, like that of Leghs, contains no trace whatever of any stairs; it is clear from base to summit, with the exception of a wooden floor.

The materials of which the tower is constructed are evidently local, and of a rough character, consisting principally of gravel, flints, and quartz stones, with a few Roman tiles, besides large nodules of septaria,—a substance which is found in the clay, and was largely used, I believe, by the Romans for making cement; hence the name. The tower contains no trace of any freestone, being built entirely of the above mentioned materials laid in lime or Roman cement mortar. In the external walls of the tower the flints are symmetrically laid in course; but I ascertained that the tower was covered with plaster, and when the church was restored, some years ago, the plaster was removed, when, perhaps, the stones were relaid in their present position. Internally the original flintwork has been rendered over, except a few feet above the existing wooden floor at the top of the tower, which remains in its original condition; but here the flints are laid in very rough courses.

On looking carefully at the walls of the nave they certainly seem to be of earlier origin than the tower, containing as they do considerably more septaria and Roman tiles; being rougher in appearance, and with no respect to courses, it becomes difficult, besides dangerous, to form conclusions from the appearance of the walling. The west wall of the nave, externally, is certainly a unique piece of masonry. The angle is built entirely of Roman tiles, 12 in. by 12 by $1\frac{1}{2}$, the wall being built with three courses of Roman tiles, 1 ft. 10 in. apart, the space being filled in with septaria. The tower differs from Leghs in that it has no buttresses or western entrance, the approach to the tower being from the church by a noble

tower-arch 15 ft. high from the floor to the under side of the crown, and 7 ft. wide. Unfortunately, the arch has all been plastered over; therefore, no idea can be formed of its construction. The nave is entered by a circular-headed doorway in the south wall, the original mouldings having been removed and filled in by flint-work; on the right of the doorway, and recessed in the wall, are the remains of a holy-water stoup. The tower is pierced by six circular-headed windows or loopholes, the arches and quoins to the openings both inside and out being formed entirely of red Roman tiles 10 in. by 8 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Two of the windows are on the western face, two on the north, and two on the south, and immediately above each other. The bottoms of these lower windows are 9 ft. 6 in. above the floor, while the three upper ones are at the existing wooden floor-level.

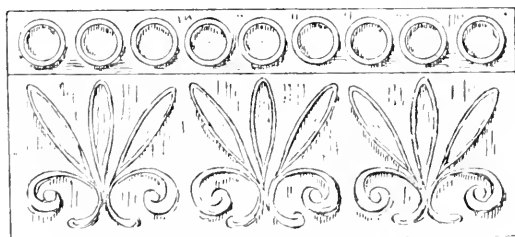


Broomfield Church. Roman Masonry in Angle of W. Wall of Nave, showing Nodules of *Septaria* and Roman Tiles.

The lower windows are 14 in. wide, with the exception of the one opposite the tower-arch, which is 2 ft. wide and 5 ft. high; the upper ones being 16 in. wide and 4 ft. high, being deeply splayed in the inside. Inside the tower, and immediately above the tower-arch, is another arch, 10 ft. high and 7 ft. 6 in. wide; it is now partly filled in at the back with modern brickwork. If this were removed, it would lead into the nave just below the apex of the roof; but what its original function was I do not pretend to know, the arch itself and the quoins being formed entirely of red hard-burnt

Roman tiles 12 in. by 10 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Morant describes this tower as round, and built of brick and stone plastered over; he supposes it to have been built by the Danes, or according to their manner of architecture. In the tower are two ancient bells, one made in 1580 by John Dier, and the other in 1613 by Miles Grey.

The nave of Great Leghs Church is 47 ft. 3 in. long and 24 ft. 9 in. wide, surrounded by walls 3 ft. thick. Although of this thickness they appear to be weak, and are supported by heavy modern brick buttresses on the north side. The walls, I believe, are built of the same material as the upper part of the tower, but it is difficult to tell exactly, on account of being plastered over. In the north wall are two small circular-headed windows 14 in. wide and 4 ft. high, deeply splayed in the inside, the openings being 7 ft. 6 in. high by 5 ft. wide. Besides these there is a fine Perpendicular window 6 ft. wide by 11 ft. high; also a Pointed doorway leading into a modern vestry. In the south wall are three windows, one being circular-headed, one a Perpendicular, and the other Pointed. They are immediately opposite to those in the north wall, the two former being similar in all respects. The nave is entered by a Pointed doorway in the south wall, which has been formed by filling in the original doorway, which is a fine circular-headed opening in stone, with a moulding similar to that in the western entrance of the tower, except that the upper member is of a decorated floral character. This mould-



ing is nearly intact, but plastered over. At the side of the opening remains part of a holy-water stoup in stone. From the design of the nave one is inclined to think its period is early Norman. At the east end of the nave is the chancel, containing Gothic or Pointed win-

dows. It is of much later date than the nave; its period is probably of the fourteenth century. It contains two exquisite pieces of richly carved floral stonework, viz., a sedilia in the south wall, and tomb in the north wall.

Mr. Woodward, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1829, states that round towers owe their form not to any peculiar style, but to necessity, in consequence of an absence of freestone, and that the necessity originally influencing the Saxons extended to the Normans. I have previously pointed out there is no freestone in the main walls of the towers, but the quoins of the pilasters on the south face of Great Leghs tower are partly formed of Barnack stone; but whether this was originally built in I cannot tell. Mr. Roberts, in a paper read before this Society, states, from his own observations, he is led to believe that Barnack stone from Northampton was first used in 1150 or 1160; if such be the case, it may have some important bearing on the age of this tower. He further states, from the absence of this stone in these towers and churches to which they belong some conclusions may be drawn. Mr. Roberts has no hesitation in saying that all the towers had been originally detached, and that the churches had been built against them, and that all openings had been made subsequently to their first erection. I am inclined to think it was not so with Leghs, as the walls of the nave seem to be built into the tower, as far as I can judge; and besides, what was the object of building the east face of the tower flat? With Broomfield the case may be different, on account of the nave-walls not being bonded into the tower. The period assigned by Roberts to the erection of these towers is from 1100 to 1150, and that they are only to be found in East Anglia, the limits of the old Saxon kingdom. Mr. Gage says that of all the towers he has seen he considers them of pure Norman architecture on the circular style, and that there is but one tower which might rank higher in antiquity than the twelfth century; while Mr. Brock, in his highly interesting paper, states that the origin of the towers is Saxon; other writers, however, seem to think they were built by Norman masons acquainted with Saxon work.

Morant, in his work on Essex, assigns the period of these towers to times before the Conquest, and to the Danish manner of building. These towers certainly bear a strong analogue to those of Suffolk and Norfolk; but there is no analogue whatever with those grand towers of Ireland described in the Earl of Dunraven's magnificent book.

The shape of these round towers seems to be entirely a case of necessity. It would have been next to impossible to construct them of any other shape but that of a circle without the use of stone to form the quoins; and, from the careful and sparing use of Roman tiles, it was evident they were not plentiful and easily obtainable in all districts; and another reason for the circular shape is that it is of a stronger form than any other, and presents less surface for the wind to act upon.

With reference to the towers of Ireland, some of which are 120 ft. high (having proportions similar to that of modern round chimney-shafts), they seem to owe their origin entirely to the existence of stone. It would have been impossible to construct towers of such altitude of any other material but blocks of stone. Loose stone, such as flints and bricks, could not have been in use, especially as, if I understand right, little or no cementing material is used.

In conclusion, I would draw your attention to the conflicting opinions expressed by the eminent writers on the subject as to the period of the round towers, and also to the fact that at the time of the Survey the lands in the parishes in which these Essex towers are situated was in the possession of the Mandevilles. I have now completed, to the best of my ability, the ideas I sketched in the commencement of the paper, although the description and remarks, I fear, are far from perfect. I trust there is sufficient information to form some definite conclusions as to the period of these towers.¹

¹ There are two other round-towered churches in Essex, viz., Pentlow and Lamarsh, situated on the extreme northern boundary of the county. These will be described on a future occasion.

SOME ROMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED AT FILEY, YORKSHIRE.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read 6th June 1888.*)

FILEY, known to some of us as a quiet and romantic retreat from the jars and exhaustion of London life, lies on the shore of a deep bay opening to the north-east, defined on the south by a vast cliff wall, terminating in the promontory of Flamborough Head, and on the north by the Red Cliffs and Caer Nase, beyond which to the north-east runs out the oolitic coral reef known as the "Brigg", the chord of the arc being fifteen miles. The western bow of the bay is split by a deep and beautifully wooded ravine, down which, until diverted lately, ran a little stream, the survivor and representative of the deep-volumed river that in the ages formed by its deposits the earth cliffs and wonderful confusions of fossil, lignite, jet, and coral. So sheltered on the north and south, with deep water and secure anchorage, Filey Bay, though in modern times, with its advantage of an almost natural harbour of refuge, abandoned to a few fishing-boats, was not so in the early ages of the era, receiving a name from Greek and Roman expressive of security and peace—Eulimenos Kolpos, and Portus Felix. Portus Felix, thus named in the Survey of Ptolemy, appears to have been a Roman fortification of considerable extent and importance, identified as the settlement, or city if you will, of Prætorium, once considered one with the modern Partington. From this station (Prætorium) two roads communicated—one directly with the great centre, Eboracum, through Malton, the other striking towards the south-west and the Roman stations in Lincolnshire. But the site is fixed also by the names of the two promontories. Filey is in the old country of the Brigantes, amongst whom Roman supremacy was asserted and maintained only after a long and severe campaign by the troops of Agricola. In the *Notitia Imperii* we have Brigantium Extremum in the country

of the Brigantes and in connection with Prætorium. Brigg is but an abbreviation of Brigantium, and not the northern name for "Bridge". On the south, Ptolemy mentions Ocellum. Now the most ancient name, the word in use by primal tribes to express height, was Uchel, Ochel, Uxel. By Ptolemy the ancient name became Romanised, hence Ocellum: the elevated white cliffs, the bounding, projecting ridge of the wolds. Ocellum, before the days of Richard of Cirencester, was applied to indicate Spurn Point, which does not bear the character of Ochel; but Richard of Cirencester, in his revisal of the older geographer, added "*Promontorium*", as expressing the features of coast and intention of Ptolemy. Dr. Cortis writes: "I do not see what bay Euliminos Kolpos can possibly indicate except Filey Bay, and Prætorium may have been a fortified Roman camp on the shores of this bay." These words were written on the eve of the discovery of the remains on Caer Nase, within the military lines of Prætorium. The country is seamed with earthworks, anterior and posterior to the Roman occupation; notably, the gigantic vallum insulating the Ocellum Promontorium, and rendering Flamborough Head an invulnerable fortress.

It may be noted that from the Brigg of Filey jut two remains of artificial breakwaters, and between, until the pier of Bridlington was built, remained *in situ* a huge stone, known as the "Mooring Stone", but removed and destroyed by the modern Goth employed on the works at Bridlington. The Romans becoming masters of the district, held it by connected stations; and if you will imagine yourselves standing on Caer Nase, at the height of, say, 250 ft. above the shore, you will command—to the south the whole sweep of the bay to Flamborough, to the north Scarborough, distant eight miles, and westward the rolling wolds to the ridges beyond Hunmanby. A signal by fire could be seen and answered from any of these points. The occupation and fortifications and civilian town appear to have passed utterly from memory, until a slip of the marly cliffs, a few years ago, carried with it to the strand some fragmentary Roman remains, together with charred bones, and this led to posterior excavation. But how much that might have proved

historically interesting and archæologically valuable was lost in the destruction of the land by the all-devouring sea; indeed, by the powerful currents, the shore by a single tide is changed in aspect, and the falls of cliff engulfed, dissolved, or buried. The discovery of broken Roman pottery having been communicated to the Rev. R. Brooke of Gateforth, that gentleman commenced a partial excavation, with the result of laying bare the portion of a building, its foundation-walls and the five stones (worked), as set out on the plan accompanying this paper. The stones generally were rough, some few only bearing tool-marks, and the walls descended 4 ft. from the surface, resting on a foundation of puddled clay, which also filled the spaces between the walls. Upon this floor had been set the five stones, as in the illustration, each about 2 ft. in height, diminishing by two steps to the top. Here is a cavity sufficiently deep to support an upright. The upper surface-front of the central stone bears in alto the carving of two stags, the first running, the second about to lie down. The remains of burnt wood, a spear-head, etc., with burnt bones, lay on the floor, together also with a piece of shale or shaly slate, inscribed :

CÆSAR SE....

QVAM SPE....

The coins then found had become greatly corroded, and were chiefly third brass. To-day I have seen two or three in good preservation of Constantine and Constans, and lately found on the site.

The forms of the vessels discovered are familiar to us. One fragment had a green glaze; the larger wine-vase had been formed of fine red clay, ornamented with painted scrolls. One piece of Samian was unearthed also, and to-day I have seen the broken rim of a mortarium of hard white clay extracted this week from the cliff. Dr. Cortis enumerates also buckles, pins, part of a sword, a sharpening-stone, a bead, etc., as having been here exhumed.

Interest centres chiefly on the stones and their areas; and with these conjecture has been sufficiently busied. The most persevering is that which asserted the stones to have been wooden supporters of a sea-beacon. Very prob-

ably a sea-beacon was set and maintained in the fortifications. But we must not fail to note the changed condition and extent of the cliffs from that time when the legionaries occupied their camp. These walls must have been comparatively inland then; a beacon would naturally have had its place externally and seaward, and certainly supported by something more substantial than wooden posts; the floor-area also would have been larger than necessary.

These walls probably represent an interior fortification: and, recurring to the revelations at Collesford and Lincoln, may not the cavities of the stones have borne the Roman standards and garrison orders? Thus the standards were placed, and thus garrison orders were made known. The guard-rooms at Collesford, north, resemble closely the interior enclosure, its entrance being in line with the south-west wall. Or might the central and sculptured stone have been a military altar? Pity, indeed, is it, the excavations had not been pressed towards the north-west; a second traverse would probably have been found, and the site of the Prætorium placed beyond conjecture. Beacon it scarcely could have been; the military centre probably it was. The coins of Constantine prove a long occupation, from the conquests of Agricola till the last days of Roman rule. Hence we deduce the military value of these fortifications not alone as protective from a foreign enemy, but as a port (*Portus Felix*), and an important one, for the commerce of Roman Britain coastwise and across the North Sea. Nor can its value as a harbour of refuge be doubted. In our day Nature appears to have excavated the deep arc for this very purpose; but in those far days its protective power must have been greater than in our own. The rock promontory of the Brigg stretched farther seaward, as remains of massive walls exist there, and in occasional calm and deep refluxions may yet be seen. But then, even after long desolation, the value of Filey appears to have been appreciated by Saxon, Dane, and Norman. The transitional Norman church is built on the slope of *Cæaer Nase*;¹ in its restoration a Runic stone and many Saxon fragments were discovered.

¹ "*Cæaer Nase*" means the promontory with the fort.

NOTES ON SOME MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read 6th June 1888.*)

A LARGE collection of works of antiquity and art, the former from London excavations, were exhibited by Mr. Mayhew on the above date. Among them a portion (about 9 in.) of an early Scandinavian almanac, of walrus bone, found in London Wall. We need hardly point to the rarity of this interesting relic, but hope it may be figured in our *Journal*. Of Roman and mediæval objects, a bowl of black pottery from near Paternoster Row ; a fragment of Samian with the Roman eagle impressed ; and also a bronze balance-beam. But these latter—with two fifteenth and sixteenth century keys, a bottle of pottery and green glaze, fifteenth or sixteenth century pewter spoon, and seventeenth century buck-handled fork—were found all together in an excavation at the old bridge foot, Fish Street. From this came also a very remarkable little spoon, figured on both sides in cameo with a running scroll pattern, and on the side proper the portrait of a royal personage, surmounted by a crown imperial. The work is German. Also a candle-holder of pure golden bronze from London Wall, and remarkable for its box base ; an unglazed upright jug of thirteenth century, discovered in the kiln with several others, near Basinghall Street. Some years since a kiln was unearthed in Finsbury filled with finely textured Roman vessels. A small Norman jug, with a human bearded face leaning on the right hand ; a fine British mould in hard stone for casting arrow-heads, utilised on either side, completed the list of antiquities.

Of mediæval objects :

1. A very beautiful little bit of Italian faience of sixteenth century—a wide-mouthed jug, slightly compressed to form the spout, bluish-grey in colour, and iridescent in hues.

2. Two bells, both of sixteenth century and German art; the larger of bronze, perforated. An ornamental scroll surmounts a band, on which are engraved the names of the Four Evangelists, their emblems appearing beneath, with foliage. This gospel-bell bears marks of long usage, and an error likewise, as "Lucas" appears "Cucus". The second bell has the name of its artist, "Johannes Afinea", with date of his work, 1550. The ornamentation, in delicate taste, represents the story of Orpheus, with flowers, masks, and cherubic heads.

3. An extraordinary iron oval casting in relief of a Gnostic emblem or "charm"—a combination of two human faces, one aged and contracted, the other middle-aged, with a repulsive calm, in combination with the heads of a wolf and a swine. Some years ago a Gnostic carving in bone or ivory, the property of the late Dr. Iliff, was submitted to the Association by Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., and engraved; but singular it is to find the errors of the first and second centuries perpetuated in the seventeenth, and through the selfsame channels. It is evident this Gnostic charm was for use—what particular use?—the iron suspender being fused in the plaque.

4. A magnificent roundel of bronze, 2 ft. 1 in. in diameter, with corded edge, bearing in repoussé, 2½ in. in relief, the noble bust of Michel Angelo Buonarrotti. The head is covered by a cap with ears, and the bust clothed in apparently a silken vest, buttoned down the front. Head, shoulders, expression are massive, finely finished, and show the great artist in all his power. The work is Italian, Florentine probably, and may have been suggested by that roundel at Florence which Evelyn saw, and wrote of as an object of sublimity and beauty.

5. In calling attention to five circular distemper portraits, Mr. Mayhew said that last year, in East Kent, a very ancient house was pulled down and its reliques sold. In this house was an oaken screen, bought by a man who, in washing it, found upon it these five portraits, on canvas, still bearing the marks of the wood, but by damp detached from it. The portraits are in colour: Henry VII, in royal robes on a golden ground; Elizabeth of York, his Queen; Prince Arthur (who lies in Worcester Cathedral), and Catherine of Aragon, his

wife ; and Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. Conjecture as to how these portraits came to the house may be useless, but hardly can they be examined without conviction of fidelity of likeness, beauty of colour, and exactitude of finish. The ground of the portrait of Henry VII is gold. He wears ermine and jewels, and bears the sceptre. The backgrounds of all the others are diaper of blue, with the rose of England. They have been submitted to experts of experience, who hold they are productions of the sixteenth century by a foreign artist. The foreign artists then painting for the English court were Cornelis Lucas and Hans Holbein : both painted on distemper, and the latter distinguished by his "round flesh and carnations lifelike", and by "green or blue grounds". These were painted by no common hand, and the minutiae of portraiture, dress, and ornament attest the truth of the artist. We hope to have another opinion, and the result will be communicated to the Association.

The portraits appear at some time to have been transferred to a rough canvas. The diameter of the portrait of the King is 14 in., of the remaining portraits 12 in.

6. The exhibition closed with a cup of gilt metal of Spanish seventeenth century art, with cover, ornamented with scrolls and engraving in style of the chalice from Toledo, already shown to the Association ; and a particularly beautiful metal service for coffee and sweetmeats, of Persian art, richly and elegantly inlaid with a few real gems, and many carnelian and turquoise enamels. The service consists of a large round and fluted tray, richly inlaid with patterns and adorned with minute scroll-work ; six Zurf for holding the coffee-cups, of exquisite porcelain, almost resembling opal glass ; the vessel for coffee, two smaller trays worked with turquoise and carnelian, and a coppered cup on stand (bossed) and foot, ornamented in a manner similar with the trays.

THE ROWS OF CHESTER.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., VICAR OF NEWLYN
ST. PETER, CORNWALL.

(*Read at the Liverpool Congress, 1887.*)

THOSE wonderful and deeply interesting specimens of domestic architecture, the rows of Chester, deserve the careful notice of all antiquaries and architects who visit the neighbourhood. From an architectural standpoint they are deeply interesting, for they present suggestions of types of beauty in great variety in English domestic architecture well worth the consideration of those who wish to study how to make houses and cities beautiful. I hardly know any mediæval streets in England more suggestive than the rows of Chester—their vast variety, their light and shade, their use of wood-carving, their economisation of space, are all most striking. But it is from an historical and archæological standpoint that I want to bring a few thoughts before you on a subject which deserves volumes to be written on it, and which many local antiquaries are better able to judge than I.

The question which strikes me most is, “Whence does the design come of the rows of Chester?” Is it a development of ordinary English mediæval architecture? or is it the invention of some unknown local Chester architect? or is it an idea handed down through the ages from the Romans? There are difficulties about each of these three explanations; but the latter, bold though it sounds, appears to me the most probable.

1. As to its being an ordinary form of English architecture in the Middle Ages, I may speak under correction, but, as far as I know, I should say decidedly it is not. Oxford, old London, Exeter, Canterbury, were never, as far as evidence shows, cities of rows like Chester. They had projecting eaves, they had gables over the streets, but not a succession of piazzas. That style belongs rather to the sunny south than to England. Englishmen have never had a great desire for porticoes. In old inns and

old mansions there may have been projections over their porch for shelter, supported by pillars, but not long piazzas.

2. As to the theory of a mediæval Hausmann, who rebuilt Chester at some unknown period in this strange outlandish fashion, that is a question of evidence. The probabilities of the existence of such a person are not strong; his name, date, and full evidence of his work would be required to satisfy one as to his existence.

3. The Roman theory remains. We should remember that Chester was the headquarters of the Twentieth Legion, the great fortress of North-West Britain against the British mountaineers of Wales. Roman influence was strong here, as even the name Chester, the Great Castra, shows. If ever we should look for a thoroughly Roman city in England it would be here. Nor is this a mere matter of conjecture or historic record; we have archaeological evidence enough, as every visitor to Chester knows. The Roman remains are striking.

Roman Chester was almost certainly a city of porticoes and piazzas inside the fortress walls. The world's conquerors brought their habits and manners, where they could, among the barbarians, and a fortress and the headquarters of a legion would be the very place where we should expect Roman architecture to flourish.

Now, when the Romans departed from Britain, might not many of their old buildings of Chester or Deva have remained, and, when they passed away and crumbled in the lapse of ages, have formed the ideal on which later architects worked with details of mediæval work, until we see what is so wonderful in modern Chester. rows of edifices, Roman or Italian in conception, and yet English in detail? The striking resemblance of Chester rows to so many streets of Italy, *e.g.*, to Gravedona, to the old parts of Pisa, Como, and I may add Bologna, would be explained. They came from a common origin, *i.e.*, tradition from the ancient Roman mode of street-architecture. Chester is the most Italian looking city in England because it is a tradition from Roman Britain.



Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 21 NOVEMBER 1888.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

Miss Prosser, Mount Pleasant House, Upper Clapton
 L. John Fowler, Esq., 4 Gray Street, Sandyford, Glasgow
 Ewan Christian, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 7 Whitehall Place
 Percy Simpson, Esq.

It was ordered by the Council that each of the fifty-eight subscribers of two guineas or upwards towards the expenses of the Congress at Glasgow, should receive a copy of the *Journal* for 1889, containing the Congress Report and principal papers read at Glasgow.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A., for "Excavations in Cranbourne Chase," vol. ii.

To the Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Part 49. Oct. 1888.

To the Smithsonian Institute, for "Miscellaneous Collections," vols. xxxii and xxxiii, 1888 ; and "Annual Report of the Board of Regents," Part II. July 1885.

To the Cambrian Archaeological Association, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Nos. 19, 20, 5th Series. 1888.

To the Royal Archaeological Institute, for "Journal," Nos. 178 and 179. 1888.

To the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, for "Journal," Nos. 75, 76, 4th Series. 1888.

To the Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Proceedings," vol. iv, New Series, 1888 ; and Kalendar, 1888-89.

To the Powysland Club, for "Collections Historical and Archæological," Part 43. Oct. 1888.

To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, for "Transactions," vol. xii. 1887-88.

To the Society of Antiquaries, for "Proceedings," vol. xii, No. II. 1888.

To the Clifton Antiquarian Club, for "Proceedings," vol. i, Part III 1887-8.

To the St. Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society, for "Transactions." 1887.

To the Author, for "Memoria de la Secretaria de Gobernacion Policia y Fomento." San José, Costa Rica. 1888.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a communication from Mr. Robert Gill of Newcastle, Staffordshire, to Mr. C. Lynam, descriptive of an ancient rectangular slab of copper, measuring $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. It was found near Wem some years ago. On it are two circular designs : (1), David harping, seated on a throne before a lectern,—around is the legend, SVM DAVID CITHARISTA ; (2), St. Michael the Archangel in combat with the Dragon. There are also small circles containing (1) a triple-towered castle ; (2), a lion rampant ; (3), a flower.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, said it looked like late thirteenth century work, and expressed a hope that it might be exhibited on a future occasion.

Mr. Brock also read the following communication from Mr. Thomas Francis of Havant:—

"I enclose a photograph of the heading of a chalk-pit on the eastern slope of Portsdown, showing the section of an ancient crematory. It is 4 ft. or more in diameter, and is something like 20 ft. below the surface. At the bottom is a thin layer of charcoal, a small portion of which is bone. Above this are several feet of calcined chalk. This is the third which has been discovered. The first contained several tons of flints ; the other being similar to this,—and it is believed there are others adjacent. The workmen have not observed any implements or ornaments at present. They are puzzled as to how the material was made to burn, as there could be no draught. I can only surmise that a quantity of burning embers must have first been put in, then the body, and more wood, and finally the chalk.

"Are not interments at such an extraordinary depth uncommon, if not hitherto unknown ? I shall esteem it a favour if you will kindly give me your opinion in the matter.

"I mentioned to the men that the burnt remains of a body were generally placed in an earthen vessel or urn ; but they said the only thing they found was a piece of horn, probably the end of an antler. I suggested flint implements, probably chipped or polished, more likely the former ; but the foreman, who knew of such things when working

in another part of the county, answered 'No,' and promised to inform me of any find. The shaft is about 4 ft. I will duly report any fresh information."

Mr. Brock also exhibited engravings of the great seal of William and Mary, and of William III after the death of his Queen.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a collection of recently exhumed antiquities from Southwark. They include coins of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Antoninus Pius, Gallienus, Carausius, and Constantius; five abbey-pieces; a baker's token, "Mathew Pearce, Meale-Man, St. Olave's, Southwark", and "The Swan-on-the-Bridge, New Fish St. Hill, 1657." London Bridge with the houses are represented on the obverse. The Swan standing on it is intended for a pun,—the Swan above Bridge to distinguish it from the Old Swan in Upper Thames Street. New Fish Street, or Fish Street Hill, was wholly destroyed in the Great Fire in 1666; but on being rebuilt the sign of the Swan was again adopted, and yet remains at the corner of Glover Court. The house was established in 1603.

Mr. Way's collection also comprised portion of a Roman roof-tile; fragments of lipped jars in black ware; Samian ware marked [OF. VITA]; and other specimens; the head from a green glazed bellarmine, and glass bottles of various forms; also four objects of coloured plaster or hard composition, somewhat like acorn-cups, probably used in the decorations of ceilings and friezes.

Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., exhibited a remarkably fine crucifix of the thirteenth century with later additions. It is of copper gilt, enamelled, and embellished with various precious stones set in bands. On the back are the emblems of the four Evangelists, at the extremities of the limbs of the cross, in plaques; and a larger plaque containing a half-length figure of Our Lord.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen made a few remarks on the art of this interesting object, which pointed, as he thought, to an early date.

The following objects were then exhibited by the Chairman:—1, a vase of white material, about 9 inches in height, of just proportions and elegant outline, exhumed this year near Bethany. It appears to be a relic of Roman occupation.

2. Two lamps from the site of ancient Samaria, also exhumed during this summer. One, a long oval, has an inscription in Samaritan characters; the other shows Phœnician influence.

3. The broad hand-lift of a large lamp, red clay, with a Greek floral design.

Also the following Stuart relics, which were exhibited in connection with the paper by H. S. Cuming, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., on William and Mary, read later on:—1. A large, early, fine, and accurate portrait of Charles I, in transfer. The King wears a habit of green velvet with

deep lace collar and cuffs, holding a paper in his left hand. He wears a high hat with jewelled band, and the George on his breast. He is seated in a chair of state, but before the Black Tribunal. The transfer is underwritten, "The Picture of y^e Royall Martyr, Charles Ist, King of England, Scot: Fr: and Irland, D.F., in the Pretended High Court of Justice A.D. 1648. Done from y^e original att Oxford in the possession of George Clark, Esq., one of the Lord Comm: of y^e High Court of Admiralty.—Henry Overton of y^e White House without Newgate."

2. A second portrait, finely painted on glass, of the King seated before the Court, wearing a high hat with jewelled band; full face. It would be interesting to know who painted these fine portraits. Vandyke had long been dead.

3. Another, in water colour, by Harding, after Vandyke; full face to left. The King is bare-headed, in armour, the right hand resting on a tall staff.

4. Fragmentary impression of one of the great seals of Charles I.

5. The Dutch engraving of the King's death. Charles is represented giving the "George" to Bishop Juxon. The scaffold is surrounded by cavalry, and the Holbein Gate appears in the distance. The engraving is in the original frame and glass.

6. A small rare etching of the attack of the mob upon Lambeth Palace and Archbishop Laud.

7. Kneller's portrait of James II, a fine impression, in the old frame. The Papal keys and tiara above, a raging sea and broken anchors below. "Drawn and engraved by George Vertue from the original painting done for Secretary Pepys, and painted from the life by Sir G. Kneller, A.D. 1688."

8. Oval, in oil, of the Princess Mary, afterwards wife of William III. The Princess wears a red dress with blue ribbon and star. Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

9. Memorials of King Charles. An extremely rare and fine portrait, carnelian cameo, of the King, the likeness being very good.

10. Another, struck from the die of the marriage-medal, the finest of this series.

11. Silver medal solidly gilt, large, with splendid Vandyke portrait. An arm issuing from a cloud holds out the martyr's crown.

Relics of William and Mary:—

12. A gold ring with portrait of William by Freeman. This ring was once the property of Dr. Sadlier, T.C.D.

13. A footless bumper-glass engraved with an equestrian portrait of William as Prince of Orange, and the toast, "Vivat de Prinz von Oranie."

14. Campaigning knife and fork of the period, and substantial red leather case.

15. Book of "Court Cookery, or the Compleat English Cook, by R. Smith, Cook (under Mr. Lamb) to King William." Second edition, 1725.

16. Lambaart's Second Decapitation of the King, Charles I. In this most rare engraving (an equestrian picture by Vandyke) the King appeared full face, attended by the Duc d'Epemon. Lambaart has hammered out the head of Charles, and substituted the head of Cromwell.

In the absence of the author, Mr. Birch read a paper entitled "An Early British Cemetery found at Dummer, Hants," by Joseph Stevens, Esq., M.R.C.P.L., which was illustrated with an accurately drawn plan, and figures of urns and palæolithic implements.

Mr. Brock then read a paper, "On the Relics and Mementos of William and Mary," by H. S. Cumming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A. Scot. These papers will, it is hoped, be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH DECEMBER 1888.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Mrs. Walford, 88 Wharton Road, Kensington, S.W., was duly elected an Associate.

The Earl of Stair was duly elected a Life-Member.

Mr. W. G. Black, F.S.A.Scot., and Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Scot., were elected Hon. Local Members of Council.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," 2nd Ser., vol. xii, No. I ; and "Archæologia," vol. li, Part I.

" " for "Sussex Archæological Collections," vol. xxxvi.

" " for "Transactions of the County of Middlesex Nat. Hist. Society." 1887.

" " for "Archæologia Cambrensis," April 1888, 5th Ser., No. 18.

" " for "Annual Report of the Cooper Union," 1888.

" " for "Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society," July 1888, vol. i, Part I.

To the Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Part 39, July 1888.

To the Author, for "A Solution of the Three Impossibles," by Geo. B. Ingham, Esq.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following :—

ACCOUNT OF SOME SKELETONS FOUND NEAR PORTSMOUTH, ETC.

BY THE REV. CANON COLLIER, M.A., F.S.A.

On Friday, August 3, some workmen digging in a chalk-pit at Paulsgrove, on Portsdown Hill, about a mile from Porchester Castle, found a skeleton in the chalk, in the left hand of which were twenty-two Roman third brass coins. As the workmen were working underneath the spot where the skeleton was lying, it fell down, and the bones were loosened from their position, and were disjoined. A day or two after another interment was met with; but only a portion of the skeleton was found, part of the skull.

The bones were lying with the head towards the east, and the feet to the west. The measure of the skeleton was taken by Dr. Shore of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and found to be 5 feet 6½ inches. It was a female skeleton. The bones were well preserved. The coins would prove it to be, in all probability, a Roman interment. A part of a lady's hair-fastener, of ivory, was found near the skull.

I examined the coins carefully, but many of them were too much corroded to be legible. They were all third brass, and some were of the reigns of Valens and Valentinianus. One, very small, was of Theodosius.

Many skeletons have been found in the chalk in this neighbourhood during the last few years. One was found near the entrance to Redenhams, about 4 or 5 feet below the surface, and one in digging the junction-line between Hurstbourne and Fullerton, on the London and South-Western Railway. With the latter was lying the front portion of the skull of an ox, the horns having been carefully cut off. I sent this to your Society. All these interments were not far from the two great Roman roads which intersect our neighbourhood.

Ancient boat at Botley.—I have no doubt your attention has been drawn to the account in the newspapers of the discovery of an ancient boat near the river Hamble, at Curdrige, near Botley. I was not able to see the boat myself, but I asked my neighbour, the Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, to visit the place; and if he had an opportunity of examining the boat, to sketch it, and give me an account of it for our Society. I append his report and sketch.

"On Thursday, 25th of October last, I saw the boat which had been recently excavated near Botley. It appears that on the border of the river Hamble, in digging the foundations of a new boathouse, some workmen came upon an obstruction which proved to be this ancient boat, which was completely buried in the mud. The boathouse is now almost finished, and the work of constructing it has destroyed

every trace of the site of the discovery ; at least so I was told by the person who was employed there, and had the key of the coachhouse, to which the relic had been most carefully removed.

"No other remains of any kind were found, but a portion of a tree of considerable size was resting across the boat when it was laid bare. This tree was, however, obviously very much more recent than the boat itself. From what I gleaned it would suggest itself that the boat had sunk near the bank of the river. One end was considerably deeper in the soil than the other, and is in consequence better preserved.

"The boat (by whatever name it should be called) is really simply a portion of the trunk of a vast oak-tree hollowed out. Both ends are gone, although at that which was most deeply embedded there is a portion of the wood left which would seem to indicate that it was the shelving to either stem or stern. The bottom is the natural curve of the trunk of the tree with very little more than the bark removed. No indication whatever of keel.

"The length of the present remains is 13 ft. ; the width, 2 ft. 8 in. The gunwale, left by the excavation of the wood from the tree-trunk, is about 6 to 7 in. high, but much broken away, and on one side entirely gone about half the length. From its position in the building in which it is sheltered I was unable to get along the side, but I am told that when first seen, and before it was raised, a small piece of the gunwale had a return on it. I did not see this.

"There are no marks of tools or anything to indicate how the hollowing was done. The spade of the workman has left traces of his efforts to clean it from the mud. The oak is completely black all through. The sides of the trunk had, I have no doubt, been removed, as the gunwales do not follow the shape of the tree. The hollowing is rather deeper on one side than the other, as if to make up for an inequality of weight. Practically it is, of course, very much what we should call a punt, and I should suppose used for navigating shallow water. I enclose a very rough and imperfect sketch which may possibly give you some idea of what appearance it presents, but it should certainly be photographed. The man in charge of it has been most careful, and has kept it damp to prevent it splitting. There are no indications of seats or any fittings, but the bottom of the boat must have been very flat.

"It is very much to be regretted that the vikings' ship, some three miles lower down the river, is subject to the depredations of every curiosity seeker. Large portions seem to be brought away at pleasure. It can only be got at from a boat at very low tide, so that I did not see it."

Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., exhibited a series of Roman and other

antiquities from Queen Victoria Street, City, including a chain evidently used for a chained book, as seen in Wells and Hereford Cathedrals; Roman pocket-knife handle in bronze, representing a dog chasing a hare; keys of mediæval style; also a sketch-book of antiquities from various places.

Mr. A. Hudd, F.S.A., exhibited a stamped leather fourteenth century mazer-case engraved with foliage, grotesque heads, and along the rim, HENRI OP BE.; hemispherical, about 7 inches in diameter. Lent by the Rev. W. Hazeldine, Vicar of Temple, Bristol.

Mr. B. Winstone, M.D., exhibited a watch with inlaid tortoiseshell-case, eighteenth century; and another of the same date, elegantly ornamented with repoussé work.

Mr. J. T. Irvine's communication on "Notice of Ancient Remains at Peterborough," was read by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.* It will appear in a future part of the *Journal*.

The Chairman then read—

REVIEW OF THE GLASGOW CONGRESS.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

A feeling almost akin to awe creeps over the Southron as he approaches Scotland through the border-lands of Cumberland, though moss-troopers on their wild forays are no longer to be feared any more than hostile sallies from the castles of the lords marchers. The road from the south is now superseded by the iron lines of the Caledonian Railway in its passage northward from Carlisle; a place not to be run through without a few words on its former history, bound up as it is with Scotland, of which, indeed, it has often formed part.

As early as Malcolm II, father of Duncan, Cumberland was considered a part of his territory, and was governed by Duncan as fendatory of his father, though the English always claimed homage as due to their own monarch. This was a constant source of dispute between the two crowns. William Rufus invaded Carlisle, but in 1135 King David reduced it, placing a garrison there, where he died on the 24th of May 1153. Stephen agreed to make it over to Scotland, but this grant was disputed by Henry II. It was twice besieged, and twice capitulated, and the troubles continued in the reigns of Richard I and John. In 1235 King Alexander required Henry III to restore Cumberland with the other counties which had belonged to Scotland, and the matter was adjusted by treaty. (See Rymer.) Edward I appointed the first Lord Warden of the Marches in 1296; but border warfare was carried out notwithstanding up to the reign of Henry VIII, and later. Edward I held a parliament here in 1307, on the occasion of his last expedition against Scotland, and died in the same year at Burgh-on-

the-Sands, on the 17th of July. King Robert Bruce assaulted Carlisle for ten days, though he did not succeed in capturing it.

The Cathedral of Carlisle tells much of its own history in its walls. It belonged to a monastery before the bishopric of Carlisle was created in the twelfth century. The nave is formed of massive piers and semicircular arches, recalling those at Durham and Dunfermline; but about 30 yards of the nave, at the west end, were pulled down in the civil wars, and a wall afterwards built up, which leaves the nave of stunted proportions. There are north and south transepts and choir-aisles. The magnificent choir, in the Pointed style, was begun by Bishop Welton in the reign of Edward III, and continued by two successors of that Bishop.

Leaving Carlisle with its city walls and interesting Castle, the train soon passes the frontier, and by Gretna Green Station proceeds up Annandale, leaving Eskdale and Liddisdale to the eastward, and looking westward towards Galloway, which now forms the two counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigton. North of these lies the classical land of Carrick, associated with its Earls, the Bruces of Turnberry Castle, in Ayrshire, a county immortalised by the poetry of Burns.

Dumfries is left not far to the west of the railway, and the road now takes the valley of the Clyde up to Glasgow. This great city, once the small community on the Molendinar Burn, soon shows itself by the smoke of its furnaces and the lofty chimney-stalks, two of which reach an altitude of over 400 feet. The country around had already begun to tell of coal-fields and mines of iron, which have so largely contributed to make Glasgow what it is.

This prologue to the Congress, before the assembling of our party at the Central Station Hotel, forms no part of the official proceedings, but must be taken as an extra-judicial reminiscence.

Glasgow, 27th August.—The forty-fifth Annual Congress was opened, under the presidency of the Marquess of Bute, K.T., LL.D., with a reception by the Lord Provost of Glasgow and the city dignitaries, together with the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. John Honeyman, F.R.I.B.A., President of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, and numerous professors and antiquaries, who gave us a hearty welcome in the Corporation rooms, and, by their speeches, showed the more than ordinary interest they take in the history and antiquities of their country. This was practically testified at the ceremony we were then invited to witness, in the handing over to the custody of the trustees of Hutchinson's Hospital a monument lately erected by subscription to mark the spot where was fought, on 13th May 1568, the battle of Langside, two miles from Glasgow. Sir James King, Bart., the Lord Provost, presided, and

feelingly referred to the defeat here of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, after her escape from Lochleven, and to the subsequent events of a life in which a long episode of history was condensed into her short public career, which may be said to have ended with her twenty-fifth year. Mr. A. M. Scott had previously given a graphic account of the battle from an eminence in the Queen's Park, from which vantage-ground the movements of the armies were pointed out, and the spot whence Queen Mary surveyed the battle-field. Mr. Scott conducted us over a camp at Camp Hill, a natural eminence with escarped sides, which he considered Celtic work, probably occupied afterwards by the Romans. In the marshy ground near the entrance to Camp House was pointed out the reputed kirkyard where those who fell at the battle of Langside were buried. Mr. Scott expressed a hope that Camp Hill would also be added to the Queen's Park, which now forms a pleasure-resort of 100 acres for the industrious citizens of Glasgow, and would then include the whole site of the battle and its surroundings, having the memorial just outside its gate, in the centre of a square in the village of Langside, which, in no long time, may become united to the great city itself.

Reecrossing the Clyde into Glasgow, we spent the afternoon in the Cathedral, which stands on the highest part of the eastern end of the city. From the Clyde it is reached by the line of the Salt-market and High Street, and at the Cross, near the statue of King William III, a line of streets runs at right angles from east to west, extending about four miles, under the names of Gallowgate, Trongate, and Argyle Street. The ground on which the Cathedral is built slopes gradually from the west, but with a steep decline towards the south and east, particularly the latter, down to the Molendinar Burn, in the hollow, once a limpid mill-stream, but now covered over and converted into a sewer. By favour of Sir Michael Connal, a member of our Local Executive Committee, I am able to present a photographic reprint of a deed, dated 4th February 1446 (Scottish computation), 10th indiction, 16th year of the pontificate of Pope Eugenius, whereby, in consideration of a quit-rent of two pounds of wax yearly, paid to Sir Richard Gardenar, Vicar of Calmonell, and keeper of the lights about St. Mungoe's Tomb, by the burgesses and commons of Glasgow, and to be paid every year to the keeper of the said lights by them, permission was given to the said burgesses, by the Bishop and Chapter of Glasgow Cathedral, to build a milne upon the south side of Gardyngad Hill, on the north side of the Molendinar Burn.¹

The necropolis, on the north side of the burn, occupies a hill of some extent which overlooks the Cathedral. From hence the building

¹ This is published, with a valuable introduction by Laurence Hill, LL.B. Glasgow, 1856.

has an imposing aspect, with its aisles and retro-choir extending beyond the east window; its central tower and stone spire; its short transepts, apparently never completed, and that on the south side having a projection at the base formed into a southern crypt, over which the transept might have been extended, though Mr. Honeyman did not seem quite to favour this idea.

The history of the see, its bishops and archbishops, was given us in an interesting paper by Archbishop Eyre, at an evening meeting; and these venerable occupants of the Bishop's Castle are not only associated with the Cathedral, but with the general history of the Bishop's burgh of Glasgow, and of all Scotland. The architecture of the church was described on the spot by Mr. John Honeyman, a gentleman fully conversant with its details, and able to explain the somewhat complex sequence of the dates when the component parts were erected. Of St. Kentigern's or St. Mungo's Sanctuary nothing remains but the memory of him in the square platform in the crypt, where was erected a shrine to perpetuate his actions which survived the turbulence and heathenism of the centuries which intervened up to the time of David, Prince of Cumbria, in the reign of his brother, King Alexander I. He caused his chaplain, John, to be consecrated to the see, with an endowment, and a determination to build a suitable church, which was begun in 1124, and was consecrated in 1136. This church was burnt, and no portion of it was afterwards to be seen; but its restoration was begun by Bishop Jocelyn, in the reign of William the Lion, in 1180. Of this twelfth century work Mr. Honeyman finds no portion except in the south-west corner of the present crypt. A part of the nave arrangements are put down at 1200 to 1220, which would be under the episcopate of Walter, chaplain to King Alexander II. His successor, William de Bondington, seems to have completed the beautiful crypt and choir before the year 1258. The upper part of the nave was then proceeded with, 1270-1300, under Robert Wischart or Wisheart. This noble-minded prelate, the abettor of William Wallace and of Bruce, suffered for his patriotism in opposing the encroachments of Edward I. Having been one of the lords of the regency, he attended the meeting at Norham for decision upon the rival claims of Bruce and Baliol to the crown. The position he held made his a difficult part to play; but if he had, at times, to temporise, he never deserted what he considered the cause of his country, and the claim of Robert Bruce to be the independent King of Scotland. Taken prisoner at Cnapar in 1306, he was not liberated till after Bannockburn, 1314, when he was exchanged, together with the Queen and Princess, for the Earl of Hereford, who had been captured in Bothwell Castle by Edward Bruce immediately after the battle. He became blind during his captivity.

The chapter-house and crypt below it and stone spire were continued and nearly completed under William de Lawedre or Lauder, 1425; but John Cameron, the *magnificent* prelate, completed the chapter-house and otherwise adorned the Cathedral under James I. This prelate also built the tower at the Bishop's Castle. As James I was long in England a prisoner of state, though able to move about on parole, and at length was married in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, he had the opportunity of seeing the contemporary works there of the great Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, whose niece he married, and whose emblem, a cardinal's hat, is carved on one of the piers of the beautiful transepts of St. Mary, these facts may not have been without influence in the adornment of Glasgow Cathedral. The crypt, projecting beyond and outside the south transept, was not built till the time of Robert Blackadder, 1484 to 1508, though it has at first sight the appearance of thirteenth century work, a peculiarity to which Mr. Honeyman called attention.

Mr. Brock, after commenting upon the architecture, pointed out rather a serious crack in the wall of the tower, which he said might entail disastrous consequences if not attended to effectually, and in this opinion Mr. Honeyman concurred.

Near to the western entrance of the Cathedral, towards the north, stands the Royal Infirmary, built on the spot where stood the Bishop's Castle up to the end of the last century, and the tower of which building, as before referred to, has been so well reproduced in effigy in the grounds of the Great Exhibition at Kelvin-side. The old Castle had to resist more than one siege in the troublous times which followed the building of the tower. It had been occupied in 1301 by English men-at-arms under Anthony Bee, Bishop of Durham, whom Edward I had nominated to the see of Glasgow in the room of Bishop Wischart; but he was soon defeated by Wallace, who made a descent upon Glasgow. It was twice besieged during the minority of James V; once by Archbishop Beaton, Chancellor of the kingdom under the Regent Albany, and the second time by Lennox, in 1517. During the regency of Arran, Earls Lennox and Glencairn held it against him in 1544. It was besieged for ten days, then captured, and its gallant defenders slain. During the Anglican episcopacy it was chiefly used as a prison, and was pulled down in 1792.

Archæology was not forgotten in some of the after-dinner speeches on the opening day; Sir James King, the Lord Provost, mentioning the fact that Matthew, second Earl of Lennox, was Provost of Glasgow in 1513, an office which has existed from the year 1268 to the present time.

Bothwell and Craignethan Castles, Lanark, 28th August.—Leaving the Central Station by railway, the party soon reached Uddingston,

driving thence through umbrageous roads to the Castle of Bothwell, now in ruins, situate on a wooded height on the right bank of the Clyde. This grand specimen of a baronial castle is approached from the north-east corner, its contour breaking in upon the sight by degrees as we proceed down its eastern side. The rectangular portion of the Castle is all which remains above ground, having its long side facing the south, built on the solid rock, which is here seen from 15 to 20 feet high. This wall is flanked on the east by a circular tower, and on the west by another of smaller dimensions. Without the limits of the parallelogram, on the west, is the half of a remarkable donjon tower, 100 feet high, which dominates the whole fortress, and connected by two walls, formed the western barrier. It was circular without, and octagonal within its walls, which were 15 feet thick. The eastern circumference of the tower remains surrounded by a moat; the western or external half had been destroyed, and was built up with a flat wall by Archibald the Grim. The Castle had been captured by the Earl of Moray from Edward III, and dismantled in 1337. This Archibald the Grim, third Earl of Douglas, married Joanna of Moray, the heiress of Bothwell, in 1362, and thus brought the barony to the Douglas family. This was the third earl's favourite residence, and he built and added to the Castle. He died in 1400. After passing through various hands, it came back, through the Earls of Angus, to the Douglasses, in whose family, now represented by the Earl of Home, it still remains.

Mr. Brock described the chapel and hall in the eastern part of the parallelogram, beyond which, by the kindness of Mr. Easton, the agent of Lord Home, we were enabled to view the excavations which have lately been made to the north, and which have laid open the ground-plan of the whole *enceinte*. This shows the fortress to have been an irregular pentagon, the entrance being to the north, between two circular turrets, and another crowned the east wall on the north. Between this and the turret at the south end of the said wall, masses of masonry were seen, being the remains of a large square tower which stood against the east wall, but fell down in July 1796.

Mr. Brock, in adverting to the peculiarities of the architecture, compared the great tower on the west to the donjon-tower of Pembroke Castle, in South Wales. He considered Bothwell as one of the most ancient as well as the most interesting of the many castles in Scotland. In this he was confirmed by the history of the Castle, which was given us very fully on the spot by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Scot. It is interesting as a private baronial castle of the Olifurds, the Morays, the Douglasses, and others, and also as having been an official residence of William Wallace when he was appointed guardian of the kingdom of Scotland; of Aymar de Valence, when he

held it for Edward I as governor, and after Bannockburn, when it was retaken by Sir Edward Bruce in the name of his brother the King.

Bothwell Church was described by Mr. Brock, with its massive square tower, 120 feet high, and pointed stone roof. Its collegiate foundation by a Douglas, in the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century, for a provost and eight prebendaries, was noticed by Mr. Brock, who pointed out the Moray stars and Douglas heart sculptured at the east end, near the roof.

Hence our road lay to Hamilton, which was not visited.

“Oh, Bothwell bank, thou bloomest fair!

But, ah! thou mak'st my heart fu' sair.”

We crossed the famous Bothwell Bridge, or rather its representative, built in 1826. The “auld brig” was the scene of the conflict between Monmouth and Grahame of Claverhouse with the roughly-armed Covenanters, on 22nd June 1679, so well described by Sir Walter Scott in *Old Mortality*, in which novel he represents the Castle of Craignethan under the name of “Tillietudlem”, which we were about to visit. Its situation is on an elevated and rocky promontory, formed by a sharp curve of the river Nethan, which flows round the base.

Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Scot., gave a full historical account of the Castle, of its owners, and of events connected with it, which will doubtless appear in the official account of our proceedings. Its present owner is the Earl of Home.

Lanark and the Stone-byre Falls of the Clyde must not be omitted. Who shall say how many a Roman poet may not here, on gazing upon the gliding stream, have inspired Scottish authors who came after him with his own spirit of poetry! The stream—

“Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.”

A Roman road is reported to have been traced from Paisley to these parts, and hence in the direction of Stirling: but this subject is too wide to be entered upon here. Lanark must also be left, not forgetting, as we pass, that this was the first scene of Wallace's exploits, when he captured the town and killed the English sheriff, in revenge for a grievous injury which had been inflicted on himself.

Thus finished Tuesday's excursion, and in the evening, at the Merchants' Hall, Glasgow, our President, the Marquess of Bute, delivered his Inaugural Address, to a large audience, who, with cordial expressions of satisfaction at his presence, listened to the chain of events connecting together the various places we were about to visit in what may be called an historical garland. His Lordship hoped this would not be the last visit of the Association to Scotland.

Sir James King, Bart., the Lord Provost, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Marquess of Bute for his address, which was seconded by Sheriff-Principal Berry, adverted to the fact that the University of Glasgow owed its noblest hall to the munificent gift of his Lordship, who had also shown his interest in the fine arts by acting for a time as President of the Art Institute.

Tapock-Brook, Bannockburn, Stirling, 29th August.—We are about to visit two castles, the one without a history, the other with a very long one. A large party proceeded by train from Buchanan Street to Larbert, whence, by carriages, to Torwood, passing by Torwoodhead Castle, a comparatively modern building, but now in ruins. A walk of a mile through the wood brought us to an eminence and to the Tapock-Broek, a circular structure of dry-built masonry, where Mr. J. D. Duncan read an interesting paper on these Scottish broeks, a type peculiar to the country, and pointed out the difference between these and the round towers. He showed how the broeks were peculiar to the district lying north of the Caledonian valley and the isles round the northern and western coasts. Dr. Anderson, he said, had made a list of 370 in the five northern counties, but Mr. Duncan could name but three in the country south of that valley, which he said might partly be accounted for by the higher state of cultivation in the south, which caused such relics to disappear. He mentioned that the Tapock-Broek was first excavated by Colonel Joseph Dundas, and described to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on 18th March 1865. It was then a conical hill or mound, covered with heather, and fir-trees growing from the top. There were several walls of circumvallation outside the broek, and 200 tons of earth were thrown over on the east side on excavating it. The circular wall was 15 feet thick, enclosing an area 35 feet in diameter. The entrance doorway was 7 feet high by 3 feet wide, and the length of the passage inwards was about 18 feet 6 inches. To the left of the doorway, in the thickness of the wall, was the staircase of eleven steps. At the height of 6 feet from the floor the upper part of the wall was put back 18 inches, thus forming a sort of shelf. This was a construction usual in these buildings, though not carried high enough in this instance to show its application; but Mr. Duncan entered fully into the form, uses, and height of these towers.

We now made for the field of Bannockburn on our way to Stirling. A tavern-sign by the wayside, the "William Wallace", with the motto below, "Scots wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled", recalled the events which crowned the battle of the independence, a battle associated with the name of Wallace, though he had been nine years in his grave when this battle was fought; but King Robert Bruce, the victor, was ever ready to do justice to the man who had paved the way, by almost

superhuman exertions, to free his country from a foreign yoke, opposing, with limited means and a divided aristocracy, the hosts brought against Scotland by Edward I, after this bold monarch had subdued Wales and checked the Welsh mountaineers by his impregnable castles, many of which we had the opportunity of visiting at our Congresses in North and South Wales. We seem to forget that we are Englishmen in admiring the patriotism of the Scots at Bannockburn and the results of their victory, which was to make them a free nation and to give them the fruits of their independence, a nationality, a civilisation of their own, a self-culture which has had a recognised influence for good even on their old enemy England, since the two countries have become one. Had they submitted, like craven slaves, to the Edwards and their barons, would they, since the union of the crowns, have been the nation they now are, united to us on terms of equality, and conscious of their former history, which is better known to every humble Scot than is our own to the busy workers of England? This was seen in the graphical description given us by an old Scot at the flag-staff which is supposed to mark the spot where the standard of the Scottish King was posted, and from whence this villager was able to point out the movements of the contending hosts. A panoramic picture of the battle exhibited in Glasgow seems to have been one of the most popular resorts of the Glasgovians, and the fight was described to us there by an outspoken Scot as enthusiastically as by the villager to-day on the battlefield.

After a luncheon in the town, Mr. William B. Cook, F.S.A.Scot., gave us an account of the fortress we were about to visit, describing its history as a palace, as a place of arms, a seat of the Councils General which preceded Parliaments, and as the scene of many historical events of interest. He conducted us first to the Grey Friars Church at the foot of the Castle Hill, built by James V in about 1494. In this church Queen Mary, on 4th September 1543, was crowned at the age of eight months, and in 1567 her son James VI also, when only one year old. At Stirling this king spent almost the whole of his minority, under his tutor Buchanan.

We then saw two quaint old houses, one known as Mar's work, begun by the Earl of that name in 1570, while Regent of Scotland, and the other house known as Argyll's Lodging, built in 1637 by Alexander Viscount Stirling, and which came afterwards to the Argylls. It has some curious inscriptions carved in the stonework. The hill on which the Castle stands, from its position overlooking a vast plain, must always have been occupied by those who had the command of the country from the Romans downwards. We hear of David I keeping his court here, he who founded Cambuskenneth Abbey for Augustinian Canons in 1147; but it does not seem to have been permanently occu-

ped as a residence till the time of the Stuarts, whose favourite abode it was, and who added to it a palace more suitable to the times than the old fortress which had satisfied the earlier sovereigns. Looking over the battlements of the Castle, a fine view is obtained over the Carse of Stirling and the windings of the Forth. Near a bridge over this river was fought the famous battle of Stirling, gained by William Wallace in 1297 over Earl Warrenne and the English; but the victory was sadly compensated for by the total defeat he met with at Falkirk in 1298, as referred to hereafter.

We had to hurry back by train for the evening meeting, at which four valuable papers were read—on the “See of Glasgow”, by Archbishop Eyre; the “Great Seals of Scotland”, by Mr. Alexander Wyon; “Merlin and the Merlinian Poems”, by Professor Veitch; and on the “Wall of Antoninus”, by Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce.

Bute, Rothesay, Mount Stuart, 30th August.—The Isles of the West are our destination, and a good omen is the name of the steamer, *Columba*, bound thither from the Broomielaw at 7 A.M. This quay, on the right bank of the Clyde, forms now the landing-stage from a good harbour, made so at great expense by dredging, for in ancient times the river was only navigable for small vessels at the flow of the tide. The length of the quay is rapidly passed, and in succession the entrance to the Queen's Dock, and, further on, the disembogueing of the river Kelvin, which runs into the Clyde just opposite the burgh of Govan, now the site of some of the largest shipbuilding-yards, yet once having been a humble village, and, together with Partick, on the right bank, is mentioned in the Cathedral records of Glasgow as contributing to the capitular income. On the south side, near Port Glasgow, is seen Newark Castle, mainly erected in 1597, and around the dock which was formed here arose warehouses and dwellings. Port Glasgow originated in this way, at about twenty miles from the great city. On the north bank, on the road to Dumbarton, at eleven miles and a half from Glasgow, is the picturesque village of Kilpatrick, situated at the foot of the Kilpatrick Hills. The “village in the Lennox” was named after Saint Patrick, who is said to have been born in this neighbourhood, and is also interesting to us from its vicinity to Chapel Hill, considered to be one of the terminal forts of the Roman wall of Antoninus on the Clyde (*Clota*), and, at the other end of the wall, we are to visit that near the Forth (*Bodotria*). Two Roman tabular stones found here in 1693 were seen by us at the University of Glasgow, and were described by Dr. Collingwood Bruce in his paper last evening. Farther westward is seen Dumbarton Castle, on a huge rock rising abruptly from the bed of the river in two peaks. This was the ancient capital, under the name of Alelyde, of the Cumbric kingdom. The northern portion of this kingdom, which nearly

coincides with Dumbartonshire, was formed by William the Lion into the earldom of Lennox in 1175, and conferred upon his brother David. William Wallace, after being imprisoned here for a short time, after his treacherous capture by Sir John Monteith on 5th August 1305, was marched to London and basely executed. The traitor Monteith, however, was forgiven by Robert Bruce, and fought bravely at Bannockburn. The history of its sieges and countersieges is full of interest, from the rank and importance of the commanders who took part in them. Mary Queen of Scots was marching to this fortress from Hamilton when she was arrested in her career at Langside, as before related, and embarked for France, after a short stay at the Castle of Dumbarton.

Touching at the Prince's Pier, Greenock—a town famous for its shipbuilding and sugar industries, and not less so as being the birth-place of James Watt, the engineer—we pass by the picturesque town of Gonrock, on the same coast of Renfrewshire, a good refuge for small craft in rough weather; and near it is Fort Matilda, corresponding with Kilereggan on the opposite shore. The firth now widens up to Gare Loek and Loek Long, the Forward Point standing out with its lighthouse, to indicate the entrance to the Clyde.

Passing round beyond the entrance to Holy Loch, in making for Rothesay, we see Dunoon on our right hand. Old Dunoon grew up round a castle which once existed here, and was the seat of the Lord High Steward of Scotland. We now land on the island of Bute, and proceed to Rothesay Castle, crossing a drawbridge. The old bridge was replaced by new timber when the Castle was repaired by the Marquess of Bute, who is hereditary custodian, and who followed up the work begun by his predecessor in 1816. A piece of the old timber, black with age, was shown with its commemorative brass plate upon it.

The Rev. J. K. Hewison, F.S.A.Scot., gave an account of the Castle, a peculiarity of which was that its curtain-wall as well as the four turrets (two of which only now remain) were all of circular form; thus the ancient part could easily be distinguished from the later building, which was angular. Its early history is connected with the Norwegians, who captured the island from a Steward of Scotland defending it. It was retaken by the Scots, and afterwards Haco reduced the island, assisted by one Rudri or Roderick. The Norwegians, after their defeat at Largs, were glad to cede formally to Scotland, for a money consideration, in 1266, the Hebrides, including all the islands in the Forth of Clyde.

Edward Baliol took possession in 1334, and appointed Sir Adam Lisle Governor of the Castle in place of the young Steward of Scotland, who escaped to Dumbarton. David Cuning, Earl of Athole, seized the large estates of the young Steward, and confirmed Lisle in

his office. The High Steward gained over the Campbells of Argyll, and they met at Dunoon and captured its Castle. The young Steward was at Rothesay in 1376 and again in 1381. He was son of Walter the Grand Steward, who married Margery, daughter of King Robert Bruce, and after the death of the King's only son he became King under the title of Robert II.

Robert III. son of the preceding, often visited Rothesay Castle, and in 1398 created his eldest son, David, Duke of Rothesay, a title which continues in the Heir Apparent of the British crown. On the death of Robert III the Castle was committed to the family of Bute. This unhappy King appears to have died at Dundonald, near Paisley, and was buried in the Abbey there.

The *columbarium*, or dovecot, of Rothesay was pointed out in the upper part of one of the ruined towers with its pigeon-holes of stone, as at Bodiam, Sussex, and in other castles.

Mr. Brock remarked that the circular form of the court recalled to mind the castles of Listornel, of Launceston and Trematon in Cornwall; and we were, perhaps, in the oldest castle in Scotland. The chapel was of the usual form, and one of the stairs to the apartments above has the tradition of the "Bloody Stair" attached to it, which can be read in Walter Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*.

We next proceeded to the parish church of Rothesay, a modern building, where the Rev. J. K. Hewison told us we were on the site of the original Cathedral of the Isles. Outside was a ruined building without roof, in which were several altar-tombs, one especially noticed in a recess with canopy over. This building was the supposed chancel of the Cathedral; but various are the opinions as to the occupants of the tomb called the "Royal", from its emblematic carvings. This was the tomb in which we were told by our President that no one had been buried, though originally intended for King Robert II. Mr. John Honeyman lamented, with others present, the neglect of this chancel with its monuments, so exposed to all the winds of heaven.

Mr. Hewison showed an ancient Celtic cross in the churchyard, which had been found and erected here; and on the subject of such crosses, two very well worth inspection are preserved in a passage leading to the stairs of a tower in Dunblane Cathedral, where we saw them.

A beautiful drive not far from the shore proved, by the luxuriance of the vegetation, the mildness of the climate in this isle, which might be taken for one of the Fortunate Islands of the West, to which Horace wished to be able to retreat from the turmoil and perplexities of Rome.

We were most hospitably received by the Marquess and Marchioness of Bute, and had the opportunity of seeing the numerous historical and family portraits which adorn the walls of the mansion, rebuilt

since the fire of 1875. We mustered nearly two hundred persons, for whom places were laid in the magnificent hall, extending from the bottom to the top of the house, and formed of columns and arcading of the choicest foreign marbles, with open galleries round the upper stories looking on to the hall, and led up to by bold flights of marble stairs. The colour of the lower columns is of a lightish green. The ornamentation of the whole is not yet quite completed. There will be, if I am rightly informed, a series of pictures in mosaic to form a frieze of 5 feet in depth, which will illustrate the life of Saint Margaret and her royal husband, as described by Turgot, a contemporary writer. Balfe's dream of "dwelling in marble halls" might here come over some of the party, or they might fancy themselves Knights of King Arthur's Round Table, and under the spell of that necromancer Merlin, who could remove stones of any size and from any distance to build them up at his own good pleasure. Others, not so prone to abstract contemplations as the impulsive and imaginative Celts, would prefer to dwell on the concrete realities of the nineteenth century, in presence of the banquet set before us which an Apicius might well envy. Others, again, realising the feelings of a poetical Marguerite, in so far as enjoying the innocent amusements of life, and preferring them to the book-learning of her Faust, would be sorry that so charming a day should come to an end. May I be pardoned for such an allusion to that bright young mythical maiden, tempted beyond all ordinary experience, yet saved by the redeeming qualities of her nature? A more gratifying picture is that of her namesake, the Anglo-Saxon Princess Margaret, who still lives in memory, an example of a well-regulated mind and a life of energy directed to the practice of benevolence and duty. We are proud to recognise in this saintly Queen of Scotland the ancestress of our royal family. Her example has exerted an influence for good in time past, and will still do so in time to come, for noble examples in the history of the past are never lost as the world grows older. Records of her life, to be depicted on these walls, are figured in a late number of the *Builder*.¹ Taking leave of our kind hosts, we proceed towards the south of the island. Among the brushwood were seen at a distance the standing stones of Lubas, in character apparently similar to those of Stennis in the Orkneys, in Arran, Man, and elsewhere. Farther on, upon a mound, is the ruined chapel of St. Blane, where we had a paper upon it by the Rev. J. K. Hewison, and comments by many architects present, including Mr. Galloway, who joined us here, on the Norman walling and that of supposed older date. The small nave and chancel remind us of the little church at Escombe, county Durham, and may it be as well described and illustrated in our *Journal* as was that in vol. xliii, p. 41.

¹ Of May 5, 1888.

Not far off, at the foot of a hill, was a circular building of dry masonry, known as the Devil's Cauldron, similar, at first sight, to the Tapoek Broek, but, from its situation, could not have been a watch-tower, even if the walls had ever been much higher than they are.

The vitrified fort of Dunagoil was visited but by few, for want of time, and we therefore drove to Kilehattan Bay, farther south, whence the steamer *Victoria* was to convey us to Wemyss Bay, on the Renfrewshire coast. Grand was the view in the gloaming, of the four islands—Arran, Bute, and the two Cumraes—seen at the same time, which together form the shire of Bute. In the far distance was Ailsa Craig, thirteen miles south of Arran, a rock rising 1,114 feet above the water, and inhabited chiefly by sea-birds and rabbits; but a light-house upon it warns sailors at night of its dangerous approaches.

"..... Hearken, thou craggy ocean pyramid!
 gray clouds are thy cold coverlid.
 Thou answer'st not, for thou art dead asleep!
 Thy life is but two dead eternities,—
 The last in air, the former in the deep."

John Keats.

As we near the Great Cumbray, the woods of Bute gradually fade in the distance, and we stop at the pier of Largs, now a favourite watering-place, the name of which is dear to Scotsmen for their victory here over the Norwegians and final emancipation of the Sudreys—that is, these islands and Man—from their occupation by the Northerners.

Haco, in 1263, sailed from Bergen. His ship had twenty-seven benches of oars, that is, seats for probably fifty-four rowers. At Skye the expedition was joined by Magnus, Lord of Man; 160 ships entered the Clyde. Magnus plundered to the head of Loch Long; then the light ships are dragged across to Loch Lomond, and thence make an expedition to Stirling. They lost ten vessels in a dreadful storm, which was followed by another when King Haco was in the Clyde. The Scottish army advanced from the heights above Largs, consisting of 1,500 horse, besides an army of foot, headed by the King and Alexander the Steward. The Norwegians had landed 900 men, but they were beaten, and then reinforced from the ships. The shattered squadron had to return to the Hebrides, and Haco, the King, expired on the 12th of December. The King of Man was to become a vassal of Scotland, and the Sudreys were afterwards permanently made over by treaty.

At Wemyss Bay we took the train and arrived at the Central Station, Glasgow, after a day to be long remembered in our annals, and the interest of which was heightened by the explanations freely given on the Clyde as we sailed along by the many members of the Reception Committee who were of the party, and who had presented us

with copies of a little work very full of reliable information, to which I acknowledge myself much indebted.¹

Glasgow, Paisley, Kelvinside, 31st August.—The first part of our pilgrimage is over; the second will begin like the former, with Glasgow and its immediate vicinity. Paisley town, situate on the banks of the river Cart, about three miles from its junction with the Clyde, on the south side, is distant only eight miles from Glasgow, and the railway soon landed us there, near the beautiful remains of the old Abbey. Mr. Broek here referred to its interesting history, and described the architecture. He spoke of St. Murren, to whom the earliest church on the site seems to have been dedicated, as being of the school of Iona. This Celtic saint's name was preserved at the foundation of the monastery by Walter Fitzallan, in 1163, and was associated with the name of St. Milbrink, who was connected with Wenlock, in Staffordshire, whence Cluniac monks were hither translated. The founder, who died a monk, was buried here in 1175. The Abbey was burnt during the wars of the succession in 1307. He said the arches and the nave generally were of the middle of the fifteenth century, and pointed out the work done in the abbacy of Tarver, and the later work of his successor, Schaw. He called attention to the choir, and considered it to be of the later date; the sedilia and mouldings were very beautiful. The chapel of St. Murren, close to the Abbey, was described by him, and he showed in it some of the earliest work, though the chapel in its present form was so much later, showing, as he said, that a church had existed here before the foundation of the Abbey. The neighbourhood of Paisley seems to have created poets by the beauty of its scenery and historical sites, such as Stanley Castle and Crookstone Castle; the Carse of Renfrewshire lies on the north-east and west, and to the south are the Braes of Gleniffer, a favourite haunt of Tannahill, the poet, a genius like that of Burns, in the humbler walks of life.

“Keen blows the wind o’er the braes of Gleniffer,
The auld Castle turrets are covered wi’ snaw;
How changed frae the time when I met wi’ my lover
Among the broom-bushes by Stanley green Shaw!”

Tannahill was born at Paisley, and has a bronze statue erected to his memory in the Abbey churchyard. The village of Elderslie, about two miles and a half to the west, is renowned as the residence of the knight Wallace, whose second son was the famous Sir William Wallace the friend of the Bruces, who rescued their country from a foreign yoke. The Abbey was alienated by James Earl of Abercorn in 1592, but in 1764 the late Earl of Abercorn repurchased this inheritance of his family.

¹ Pollock's *Dictionary of the Clyde*, 2nd edition, 1888.

After partaking of a luncheon in the Royal Bungalow at the Glasgow Exhibition, where we were served with many dishes of India by natives in the costume of their country, we mounted the rising ground which slopes up from the banks of the Kelvin to the fine building which crowns its summit. This is the University of Glasgow, and is worthy of the great city which it has done so much to educate. Professors Young, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., and Dr. Ferguson, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., in the short time at their command, pointed out some of the treasures of the Museum, founded by the two brothers Hunter of European celebrity. Prof. Dickson conducted us through the Bute Hall, of noble proportions and costly design, and through the libraries, allowing us to inspect several rare works and early illustrated editions of Scottish scenery and antiquities. To select for record any of the coins, medals, books, Roman and other antiquities of this vast collection could only be done with justice by one of the gentlemen before named; let us hope we may have some notice of the collection in our *Journal* from the pen of one or other of these learned professors. Among the Roman inscribed stones, which filled one room, a plaster-cast was shown by Dr. Young of an original which existed at Newcastle-on-Tyne before it was purchased by an American, who took it to Chicago, where it perished in a fire; therefore, this cast is now as valuable as an original.

Returning to the Exhibition grounds we made for the Bishop's Castle, a representation of that which formerly stood near the Cathedral, as before referred to. Here we were met and welcomed by the Lord Provost, Sir James King, Bart., Sheriff Berry, Sir W. Collins, Mr. James Honeyman, and others, on the part of the Reception Committee, being introduced to the collection within the building by Sir James King, who said the time bestowed on examining these numerous relics of the history of Scotland would not be thrown away, but would prove as agreeable and instructive as that dedicated to the places of historical interest on our programme of the week. As this was not a mere form of words, but was certainly borne out by our inspection of the 1,585 articles displayed, I will, with the help of the excellent handbook of this rare collection (J. and A. Constable, 1888), make a short selection, to record at the end of this review, of what particularly illustrates the scenes visited and the personages associated with them.

Four papers were read at the evening meeting, the President in the chair, who gave some information on the uses which rood-lofts in churches were put to on special occasions, thus explaining the reason for the space often given to them. A case may be mentioned of one in the parish church of Shoreham, in Kent, where the members of the Archaeological Society present were able to stand upon the rood-loft in a body, it was so wide and so strong.

In the wide experience of Dr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A., who read a paper on objects found in mounds, it would be interesting to know if he can interpret the uses of certain balls of stone peculiar to Scottish excavations, some plain, some engraved, and others sculptured, while one only has been found perforated, as if for insertion of a stick or cord. Many of them are in the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh, and are particularly described in the Rhind Lectures for 1881, by Joseph Anderson, LL.D., Director of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, pp. 162 to 173.

Ardoch Camp, Doune Castle, Dunblane, 1st September.—A long journey is planned for to-day, that we may visit the celebrated camp of Ardoch, in Perthshire, said to be the largest and finest in the kingdom, and which some writers tell us was capable of holding 26,000 men. Leaving the train at Greenloaning, a drive of two miles and a half brought us to the Camp, in which we assembled after climbing a steep bank. Professor Young made some observations on the fallacy of mistaking many so-called Roman works in this part of the country, which, on examination, were found to be natural formations of sand and gravel; and he expressed his disbelief that the Camp we were in could have held so many Roman soldiers as have been attributed to its capacity. These opinions can be reconciled; we were in a camp undoubtedly Roman, the river Knaiek subtending its western and southern sides, which rise abruptly from its banks to the height of about fifty feet. On the eastern side, sloping towards a marsh, the entrenchments are remarkably strong, having no less than five ramparts of earth, with the corresponding fosse between each. The north side is also fortified in the same way, but less strongly, the ground within the camp being more elevated on this side. The size of the camp is given as 510 ft. by 435 ft., and includes a raised platform of earth in the interior 84 ft. long by 87 broad. (Sir James Sibbald calls it a square of 100 paces each way, which is pretty accurate, 500 ft. by 500 ft.) This, then, the camp proper, according to the rules of space allowed by the *gromatici*, would only accommodate a cohort of 480 men, with their arms and baggage, and certainly not a Consular army. We saw nothing of the neighbouring camps, described by some authors as three together, besides the one we were inspecting, said to be the smallest of the four. The measurements are given for a north camp, 2,800 ft. by 1,950 ft.; a western camp close beside this, 1,900 ft. by 1,340 ft.; a third or middle camp, directly south of the great one. Have, then, these disappeared or been destroyed by cultivation, or were the works remains of more ancient camps formed by the native Celts before the Roman occupation, or were they in part or wholly natural formations, or, lastly, were they remains of camps of much later times? We should like more local information on these points.

The site of the great Roman victory over Galgacus, at the foot of the Grampians, is still undetermined, for there are as many opinions expressed on it as for the site in Wales, where Caractacus met with his final defeat. Mr. Rob. Forsyth (*Beauties of Scotland*¹), analysing the facts, inclines to the Stormont Valley, near the confluence of the rivers Tay and Isla, whence the Romans would look towards Dunkeld, a supposed capital town of the Caledonian Britons, and towards the slopes seven or eight miles to the north-east of it, where would be a likely place for the muster of the large number of native forces assembled. Bishop Merivale (*Hist. of the Romans*, vol. vii) considers that Forfar or Brechin, nearer to the sea-coast, would be the more probable locality, because so large an army could not go far away from the ships whence they derived their supplies. Time was short for a lengthened survey and discussion, for which there remains an ample field open.

We drove through Dunblane to Deanstone, where we met with a very cordial reception by Mr. and Mrs. John Muir, who had prepared a luncheon for our large party under a marquee on the lawn. We had assembled in the conservatory, adjoining the drawing-room, redolent with exotic plants, and Mr. Muir announced that a reception had been offered us by Mr. Bullock, but, through a domestic affliction, he had been prevented from carrying out his intention. Mr. Muir, therefore, kindly came forward to take his place, which he did in the most generous manner, and sent us away charmed with Scottish hospitality, of which this was another instance. Our destination was now Donne Castle, where Mr. D. Duncan read us a paper full of interest on the illustrious tenants of this stronghold in various ages. The view of the Castle from the banks of the Teith, which runs at the foot of the hill on which it stands, is very striking, and it would be difficult to find a better example of a baronial fortress for strength of position and massiveness of construction. The first building planted here was lost in the mists of antiquity, but the greater part seems to have been the work of Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith and first Duke of Albany, who was Regent of the kingdom 1402-1419. A square tower of the fifteenth century is the main feature of the Castle. Its frequent occupation by the Regent is shown by charters dated 1406, 1407, 1410, and 1413. It fell to the Crown after his forfeiture, and was afterwards settled in dowry on Margaret, Queen of James IV.

The Castle was occupied by many Kings of Scotland, who seem to have approved of its situation on the Teith, the boundary between Highlands and Lowlands, and near the hunting grounds of the forest of Glenfinlas. A Sir James Stewart died seized of it in 1590, and

¹ Vol. iv, p. 310.

his son was the Sir James created Earl of Moray in 1592, who was killed by the Marquess of Huntly, sent to bring him into the King's presence, but who exceeded his instructions by causing his death. This nobleman, known as the "bonnie Moray", from his personal good looks, had excited the jealousy of the King from the favour shown him by the young Queen Anne of Denmark. He was the husband of Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of the Regent Murray, and his title of Earl of Moray has descended, with that of Lord Doune, to the present possessor of the Castle. Of the first Earl the ballad says :

"He was a braw gallant,
And he played at the gluive ;¹
And the bonnie Earl of Moray,
Oh ! he was the queen's luvè."

Mr. James Dunbar, late of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, custodian of the Castle, described the restorations, conducted at the expense of the present Earl. The baron's hall has been fitted up as it used to be of yore, by working up the timber from the tree which used to serve as a gibbet ; and often, indeed, had it been wanted during the turbulent times of Scottish history. The dungeons, too, beneath the said hall were pointed out, also the guard-room and the usual chambers of these strong forts ; the residential portion of the Castle being distinct, and having a fine banquetting-hall 67 feet long.

Mr. Dunbar has written a concise history of the Castle, in which he has been assisted by the commissioner of the present Earl, and also by Charles Stirling Home Drummond-Moray, of Blair Drummond, Esq., the possessor of the Red Book of Menteith, which has furnished him with many authentic details. The grant of the Castle to the first Lord Doune included two chapels of St. Fillan, the one within, the other without, the Castle.

It was late when we returned to Dunblane to inspect the ancient Cathedral there, under the guidance of the Rev. A. Ritchie, M.A., minister of the parish, and others. He dwelt upon an old Culdee establishment of monks here before the time of David I. Professor Story emphasised this by remarking what an interesting link this was between the earliest form of religion in Scotland and that which obtained in the present day. The choir is modern, having been rebuilt as a parish church, and the nave is roofless. A square tower remains, adjoining the south wall, the lower part of which may be as old as when David I built a church here and founded a bishopric. Bishop Clement has the credit of rebuilding the church we see, of which the nave and western portals are good examples. The window also in the western gable and piers of the nave were much admired.

¹ *Anglicè*, glaive or sword.

and the latter are in good preservation, considering their exposure to weather. The flat memorial-stones on the floor of the nave and aisles are deserving of more protection than they now get; the symbols sculptured upon some of them resemble masons' marks, such as were described at length by Professor Hayter-Lewis at yesterday's evening meeting.

Dr. Rowan Anderson, the architect, who is about to restore the nave, described the manner in which he proposed to set about it, by retaining all the old work, and only adding new where absolutely necessary. Mr. Loftus Brock and the several other architects present kept up an animated discussion on the architecture, which was closely examined both inside the church and out, so that when we reached the library of Bishop Leighton, which occupies a building of its own in the town, but little daylight remained to see any of the books. Several early-printed Bibles, however, were produced, and the celebrated service-book of 1638, which King Charles in vain endeavoured to introduce into the churches. Bishop Leighton, a post-Reformation bishop of this diocese, was translated to Glasgow as archbishop, and, when he quitted his see, on the abolition of episcopacy, left his library of some 3,000 volumes to the town of Dunblane.

On Sunday, the 2nd September, the members attended divine service in the Cathedral of Glasgow, where an appropriate sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. G. S. Burns, the minister.

Falkirk and Linlithgow, 3rd September.—Bound on a long excursion to-day, we set off by railway from Queen Square Station, the spot where the old University of Glasgow once stood, proceeding to Bonnybridge, in Stirlingshire. Here, after crossing a meadow on foot, we were conducted through some brushwood to an elevation called Elf Hill by the Rev. Dr. Russell of Campbeltown, proprietor of the estate of Bonnyside, by Mr. James Wilson of Bantaskine, and Mr. J. Riddock-McLuekie. The first named of these three gentlemen read a paper on Elf Hill, which appears to be a conical artificial hill, as to the origin of which many opinions have been hazarded. Its vicinity to the wall of Antoninus, or rampart of earth which we were about to visit, extending from the Firth to the Clyde, causes it generally to be classed as a Roman work; but we must bear in mind that later invaders have been here since the Romans, and this mount recalls the Scandinavian practice of erecting such a hill to be used as a watch-tower, and with chambers in the base, to serve as a barrack and place of arms. Silbury Hill, near Avebury, in Wilts, and Gib Hill, near Arbor Low, occur to me as having somewhat similar features, though with much diffidence I throw this out as a suggestion, and nothing more. We mount the vallum and walk along its summit eastward, through brakes and brushwood which apparently had not

been touched since the days when Lollius Urbicus and his legionaries erected it, until Dr. Russell kindly made our path smooth by cutting one for us through the ferns. After walking on the vallum a distance of three furlongs, we are shown one of the forts on the line of the wall, called Rough Castle, of which forts Camden, quoting Timothy Pont, who surveyed them, names eighteen, the principal of which were at Falkirk, at Castle Cary, at Bambhill, and at the Peel of Kirkintilloch, the greatest of all. The side of the vallum on the north is very steep, and the ditch must have been originally deeper than it now is from the accumulation of leaves and soil during this lapse of time. Camden calls the length of the wall 36 miles (Scots). He gives the ditch as 12 feet wide towards the enemy's country; then on his ground-plan he places a wall of squared stone two feet broad; then the vallum itself of 10 feet thick. He places a paved way close to the foot of the wall on the south side five feet broad, and watch-towers within call of each other. A wall of squared stone crosses the vallum at the towers. As to the width of the ditch and of the vallum, Camden's measurements will not apply to the whole length, for they vary considerably in different parts of it. We had an opportunity of seeing the wall of squared stones as a foundation in a cutting lately opened for railway-works, which seems to confirm Camden's statement, and to prove the scientific method of Roman construction. I may observe that the moderns make the wall to begin at Carriden on the Forth, at its eastern extremity, and terminate on the west at Old Kilpatrick, on the Clyde.

Following the line of the wall, under the guidance of Mr. J. Wilson of Bantaskine, we found ourselves in front of his mansion, and, with a *bonhomie* natural to him, he regaled us, not with "cakes and ale", but with hothouse grapes and champagne, while he explained how the piece of the Roman wall which runs through his estate has been untouched, except that a parallel walk has been cut halfway down the bank, and the roughness of the old dyke has been made smooth with turf. It remains a fine specimen of the original work.

Thence we drove to Falkirk, a place full of interest from its early associations with the Roman occupation, and in succession with early Christianity and with the two famous battles fought in its neighbourhood, the one in 1298, the other in 1746. At the Town Hall, the provost and magistrates of Falkirk entertained us at luncheon, welcoming us to their town, now of considerable commercial importance, through the iron-works, and the great Carron Company, and the Canal, the modern substitute for traffic to the west country of the old Roman rampart and road. Traces of the Romans in this most interesting neighbourhood have been so much obliterated that we have to fall

back upon authors who saw and recorded them when in a more perfect state, and among such remains are the following:¹—

1. A Roman road, which, after leaving Camelon, crossed the Carron by a bridge at a point immediately west of the church, then went up the rising ground to the north of the river, through the estate of Larbert House, and the Torwood to Stirling.

2. A Roman speculatorium used to stand at the village of Larbert. Nimmo mentions it as having been in existence not many years before his time, 1777. It was noted by Gordon in the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726, and he calls it a round mound.

3. The Oon or Arthur's oven was demolished by Sir Michael Bruce in 1743, to repair a mill-dam. It was situated north of the Carron, close to the north-west corner of the Carron Iron-works. There are drawings of it in Camden's *Britannia* (1607), in Dr. Stukeley's description, 1720 (the drawing by Jelf), and in Gordon's *Itin.*, 1726. It was a round building of hewn stone, with a cupola or dome-shaped roof, open in the centre. Hence, perhaps, its name. Height, 22 feet; diameter internally, 20 feet; externally, 28 feet.

An old seaport and harbour in Roman times are thought to have been on the Carron, near Camelon. Sibbald, who wrote in 1707, states that there were then traces of regular streets with vaults underneath them.

In the *Beauties of Scotland*, by Rob. Forsyth, it is stated that about the year 1790 a complete boat was found near Falkirk, five fathoms deep in the clay. Some years ago, excavations were made by the late Sir James Stewart and Dr. Burton, the historian, when various relics were discovered. The spade might without doubt be again employed advantageously in exploring this locality.

A plan was exhibited of the old kirk by J. Shaw, jun., dated 3rd September 1788. That building was pulled down in 1810, and the present one erected. Four gritstone statues of two knights and their ladies, now in the lobby, did, in 1827, occupy the positions in the new church as in the old, that is, two within and two without the building, and probably represent some of the original Lairds of Callendar. The barony of Kerse, called Abbot's Kerse, comprehending the lands of Falkirk and the patronage of the church, was included in the new barony of Bronghten, under a charter of James VI, in 1587. In 1606 Sir Lewis Bellenden conveyed the lands of Falkirk to his brother-in-law, Alexander, seventh Lord Livingstone, who possessed the barony of Callendar.

Several memorials in the kirkyard commemorate those who fell in

¹ I am indebted to some papers printed for our perusal by Mr. Johnston of *The Falkirk Herald*, for information upon these and other antiquities of Falkirk.

the two battles before referred to. A handsome cross was erected in 1877 by John Stuart, Marquess of Bute, to commemorate the Brandanes or Men of Bute, who, under Sir John Stuart, on 22nd July 1298, fought bravely and fell gloriously in defence of their king and country. A block of granite marks the grave of Sir John Stuart himself, who fell in the same battle, and another monument to Sir John de Craime, who was also killed in the first battle of Falkirk. Sir John Stewart, known as Bonkyl, was the second son of Alexander, the sixth High Steward of Scotland.¹ He was remarkable, not for his own prowess alone, but for the many distinguished families in Scotland who are descended from him. He married the heiress of Bonkyl, and was known by the name of her estates.

A ride of about eight miles brought us to the ancient and once opulent royal borough of Linlithgow, venerable even in its decay, and full of episodes of interest in the history of Scotland. Here is one of chivalrous lawlessness. At the Exhibition we saw a sword, supposed to have been that of the Earl of Lennox, found in a grave on the battle-field, near Linlithgow Bridge. The battle was fought in September 1526, between the Douglasses and those led by the Earl of Lennox, for the possession of the person of James V, then a minor. Lennox was slain there at a spot marked by a heap of stones, known as Lennox's Cairn. The sword bears the motto on one side of the blade, *Pono leges virtute* ("By valour I lay down the law"); it was lent by the Town Council of Linlithgow.

The Palace is a wreck, a ghost of its former self, though its massive walls of good and solid masonry still stand on the same stately elevation overlooking a lake. The Romans probably, and those who succeeded them, would have fortified this position. Edward I built a strong palace here, which was taken from him by one Binnock or Binnie, a Scot, by the stratagem of the hay-cart, in 1307. It was in the hands of the English in Edward III's time. According to Fordun it was burnt in 1424. When the Stuarts came to the throne of Scotland it became their fixed residence, and was often assigned to the queens as their jointure. James IV, V, and VI took a pleasure in decorating it. It was kept in good repair till 1746, when it was accidentally burnt. The pediments over the windows are dated 1619. On the east side was the original entrance, approached by a draw-bridge, now removed. On the front floor is the great hall, 94 feet long, with large fireplace at one end. The hall communicated with the chapel in the south wing, having an oriel window looking down upon the lake. On the west side were the private apartments, in which was the bower of Margaret, queen of James IV. Here is the gloomy

¹ *Genealogy of the Royal House of Stuarts*, by the Rev. Mark Noble, F.S.A. of London and Edinburgh. London, 1795.

chamber where the unfortunate queen Mary was born, 8th December 1542, whilst her father, James V, was dying at Falkland of a broken heart. He also was born at Linlithgow Palace. In the Glasgow Exhibition was a carving of a unicorn chained and gorged, with a royal crown, bearing a banneret, which was formerly over the door of this chamber. The masonry of the palace is so sound and good that it seems a pity it should not be restored and fitted up. The quadrangle in which we stood has a ruined fountain in the centre, richly sculptured, which adds to the air of desolation. Linlithgow has been famous for springs of good water, and there are some venerable-looking fountains in the town; before leaving which must be mentioned the house from the window of which James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, on 23rd January 1571, fired at the Regent Murray, at a distance of eight yards, and killed him, in revenge for a private injury, escaping at the same time by a back door, and avoiding pursuit by the swiftness of his horse. The gun was exhibited at the Glasgow Exhibition. An evening meeting caused us to shorten our stay at Linlithgow, nor had we time to visit the church; but the three papers to be read were all of special interest.

The first was by Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., on the journey of the Duke of York from London to Edinburgh by land, from an unpublished diary in MS., 1679-81, which was produced. The Duke's journey was more propitious than his next voyage by sea in the *Gloster* to Edinburgh in 1682, when he was shipwrecked off Yarmouth, and, though the Duke was saved, about 200 persons were drowned. The story of the wreck by a survivor, Sir James Dick, Bart., a distant connection of the Erskine family, is preserved among the papers of David Stewart Erskine, eleventh Earl of Buchan, founder of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and is printed in a letter by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Fergusson to the *Antiquary*, May 1881, with many details.

The second paper read gives a valuable classification of early Christian monuments in Scotland, and will follow in the *Journal* the numerous papers of Mr. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., on similar monuments in England and Ireland, particularly in Cornwall, Wales, and the Isle of Man.

The last paper of the evening, by Mr. Loftus Brock, on the "Pecculiarities of Scottish Architecture", came in appropriately after the numerous specimens of it, in various ages, seen and explained in our many excursions.

Dunfermline Abbey and Palace, 4th September.—We were received on our arrival at Dunfermline by Provost Donald and other celebrities of this city and royal borough, in the council chamber, which is adorned by several good portraits of distinguished men, and a very

large cartoon occupies one side of the hall, representing the "Spirit of Religion", in the allegorical style of the period when it was drawn, that is, in 1845, by Sir Noel Paton, R.S.A.

We then, by special invitation of the Provost and magistrates, went to lunch with them before proceeding to the ruins of an abbey and a royal palace second to none in Scotland for historical interest. The architecture was described by Mr. George Robertson, F.S.A.Scot., custodian of the Crown property here, and further comments were made upon it by Mr. Brock.

The abbey church has a Norman nave, well preserved, and a beautiful west doorway. Four of the massive pillars, having chevrons or zig-zag patterns carved round some of the shafts, are true representatives of a Benedictine foundation of Malcolm Canmore's time or of David I, who refounded it in 1150; and this seems to have been the only monastery of the order in Scotland, if the list of all the religious houses, published for the first time¹ by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, is considered complete. The choir was taken away in 1819, when in a ruined state, and replaced by a modern church. The lady-chapel, outside its walls on the east, is now represented only by the basement of the old fabric, and a large block of stone still occupies the centre of this enclosure, open to the sky and all the winds of heaven. This stone covers the bones of Margaret, queen of Malcolm Canmore, who, with her husband, were founders of the monastery. Her remains were probably translated to this chapel in 1250 from another part of the church, where she was at first buried. Her name is still preserved in Queensferry, where she was in the habit of crossing the Forth to visit Dunfermline, where Malcolm lived in his lonely tower, built on a high neck of land known as Tower Hill, steep on all sides but one, along which we walked to see the masonry of an old building pointed out as the site of the Tower or Palace of the King. The royal marriage took place in 1070, and after the days of these progenitors of a line of kings the abbey church became the royal burying-place. The wooded banks surrounding the palace and abbey are very picturesque, having a steep descent to the river Lyne or Tower-burn which runs below. Few, but interesting, remains of the monastery are seen; a portion of the refectory, and a crypt, as well as an underground passage, which probably communicated with the church. The remains of the Palace show various dates of construction, from the florid Gothic seen in the windows to the Tudor depressed forms. Charles I was born here in 1600, but in what room is not quite settled; and so also was his unfortunate sister Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia, the ancestress of our royal family, who passed the days of her childhood here.

¹ In our *Journal*, vol. xxvii, p. 241, from a MS. in the British Museum, subscribed by John Adamson, Principal of Edinburgh College in 1650, and according to his statement transcribed from an original MS. in the College.

Let us return to the new church, where stood the choir of the old. Wallace and Bruce are indelibly stamped on the memories of the Scottish nation. In one of the modern coloured glass windows their names are associated with those of Malcolm III and Saint Margaret. In digging for the foundations of the new church in 1819, the workmen came upon a vaulted tomb. An iron plate was discovered with the name of King Robert Bruce, and a cloth of gold was found with the bones. The breast-bone of the skeleton had been sawn in two, for the purpose of extracting the heart, which the noble Douglas, his faithful companion, was to take to the Holy Land. He did so, but, in an engagement with the infidel, had thrown it among the ranks of the enemy.

“Onwards, as thou wast wont, thou fearless heart !”

The tomb was in the very centre of the old church, and under the pulpit of the new. Mr. Brock earnestly advocated the placing of a brass plate or some other memorial to mark the spot, and the pulpit might be removed a little without prejudice to the Scottish form of worship.

At Dunfermline was given the last of Mr. Brock's numerous and lucid comments on Scottish architecture, the peculiarities of which were exhaustively treated in his paper on the subject read on Monday evening, which elicited a discussion of no common interest.

The closing meeting of the Congress was held at Glasgow in the afternoon, the President in the chair, when the usual formalities were gone through, and heartfelt thanks were voted to the noble Marquess and the many kind friends who had offered us hospitality as well as information during our first excursion into Scotland.

We were honoured with a reception in the evening, at the Corporation Rooms, by Sir James and Lady King, to meet the Marquess and Marchioness of Bute as well as the members of the Society of Librarians, who were about to hold a congress in the city. Several monastic charters were exhibited by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, who had read a paper on the subject of materials for a *Scoto-Monasticon*; and a large collection of casts of the royal seals of Scotland were displayed by Mr. A. Wyon in illustration of his paper on the subject. The seals commenced with Duncan II, 1094-97, in a regular series down to Queen Victoria. One of Edward I of England, “*pro terra sua ultra Twedam*”, attracted special attention.

It would not be right to pass over in silence a remarkable paper of Dr. Ferguson, read at the afternoon meeting, on Magic and the books treating on the subject in Scotland. He gave interesting cases of witches punished, and therefore their power presumably believed in, as late as the reign of James VI, and later too. Shakespeare was not slow to realise the fact when he made witches play a conspicuous part

in his tragedy of *Macbeth*; and their prophecy that the posterity of the murdered Banquo, that is, the family of Stuart, should one day sit on the throne of Scotland, was a graceful homage paid by Shakespeare to his royal patron, James VI. Elf Hill, near the Vallum of Antoninns, was apparently named after one of these mysterious beings, and the Wall itself went by the name of Graham's Dyke, and which seems to answer to the Grimm's Dykes, of which there are several examples in England, and was probably a corruption of "Grimana Die" or "Dice", or the Witches' Dyke, *grima* meaning a witch in Anglo-Saxon.

The origin of the name of Glasgow, discussed by Mr. Wm. G. Black, F.S.A.Scot., was not so easily accounted for; and out of the many derivations hazarded to the present time, not one seems altogether satisfactory.

This was one out of the thirty papers read during the Congress, which has thus terminated with a good show of work done; and financially the result has been quite satisfactory, reflecting credit on those gentlemen of Glasgow who at great personal sacrifice have conducted the numerous local arrangements, and on those of our own Association who have assisted in other ways.

APPENDIX.

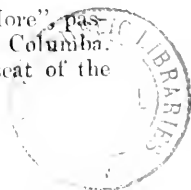
Some out of the 1,585 objects exhibited at the Bishop's Castle. The classification and numbering are adopted from the Hand-book before referred to.

EARLY PERIOD, PREHISTORIC, AND ROMAN.

- Nos. 1 to 27. From the Kelvin Grove Museum, the Glasgow Archaeological Society, and many private contributors.—Stone hammers, axe-heads, and flint arrow-heads, from various parts of Scotland.
- No. 28. Urns and bones from Tomont End, Island of Cumbrae. Discovered in 1878. Bronze rings, celts, spear-heads, and swords.
62. Bronze caldron from Lesmahagow parish.
70. Roman camp-kettle found near a Roman camp near Meikleour, Perthshire; bone pins, needles, and combs.
85. Several silver and other Roman coins, including a large brass of Trajan's found at Yorkhill, Glasgow, in 1867.
90. Fragments of glass and some grains of wheat from the same locality. Lent by D. M. Crerer-Gilbert.
93. Sculptured stone, Mercurius in car, from Perth; much worn, but described in Stuart's *Caledonia Romana* (Edinburgh, 1852), p. 107.

EARLY CHRISTIAN RELICS.

- 94 to 99. Many rubbings of crosses and other monuments.
101. A plain curved staff, 34 inches in length, "Bachnill More", pastoral staff of St. Moloe, the immediate follower of St. Columba. This used to be kept in the island of Lismore, the seat of the



ancient bishopric of Argyll. Its custodians enjoyed the hereditary trust, and held their small property by this ancient symbol of feudal tenure. Lent by the Duke of Argyll, K.T.

103. The "Buidhean", or Bell of St. Fillan, from the old parish church of Strowan, is of sheet iron; once thickly coated with bronze, which had worn off, leaving the iron to oxidise.

EARLY SCOTTISH.

121. The Douglas "Clephane Horn", figured and described in Sir Walter Scott's *Border Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 206, being Carlovignian work of the ninth century.
122. The iron hand of the Douglas Clephanes of Carslogie, by which he might hold his horse's reins; said to have been made by order of the Bruce for his faithful follower, De Clephane, who lost his left hand in one of Bruce's battles. Also described in the same volume.
123. Two-handed sword with which Sir Christopher Seton defended his King and brother-in-law, Robert the Bruce, at the battle of Methven in 1306. (See Dr. Daniel Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*.) Lent by George Seton.
124. Two-handed sword preserved at Clackmannan Tower as having belonged to Robert Bruce, and used by him at Bannockburn. Catherine Bruce, who died in 1791, bequeathed it to the Earl of Elgin, whom she considered the chief of the family. Lent by the Earl of Elgin from Broomhall, Fifeshire.
125. Another sword which King Robert the Bruce on his deathbed gave to Sir James Douglas, called "The Good Sir James." An interesting legend is on the two sides, also initial letters; the emblem of the heart, to which two hands point; and the royal arms of Scotland. Lent by the Earl of Home.
129. The celebrated silver "Brooch of Lorne", of curious form and ancient workmanship, to which a long history attaches, is said to have fastened the plaid of Robert the Bruce at the battle of Dalrigh with the Lord of Lorne, Allaster MacDougall, on the borders of Argyllshire, August 1306, and which he had to leave, along with his plaid, in the dying grasp of the McKeochs. Described in Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's *Royal Progress in Scotland* in 1842.
130. A caltrop from the field of Bannockburn, used for harassing the English cavalry.
- 131, 132. The following further interesting relics of King Robert the Bruce were taken from his tomb before the high altar in Dunfermline Abbey in 1818, in digging the foundation of the new church to take the place of the old choir:—1, a portion of his leathern shroud; 2, a piece of the *toile d'or* in which the body of the King was wrapped,—lent by Mr. Downing Bruce; 3 (137), his silver spurs,—lent by Mrs. James Kay Brown.
138. The Black Chanter, or "Feadan Dubh", of Clan Chattan, a memorial of the clan battle between the Macphersons and Davidsons in presence of King Robert III, his Queen, and nobles, on the North Inch of Perth in 1396. The prosperity of the house of Cluny was supposed to be dependent on its possession. See notes of Sir Walter Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*. Lent by Cluny Macpherson.

139. Sword of Sir John Grahame, dated 1406, with initials S. I. G.
Lent by the Duke of Montrose.

There were many other interesting remains of early Scottish history, including—

149. A carved oak sideboard of Scottish work of the time of James IV, believed to have belonged to his Queen Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. Lent by Miss Laing.

Relics or memorials of MARY STUART are too numerous to particularise at much length. Her Majesty the Queen has lent many of them, as follows:—

164. A tortoiseshell cabinet brought from Paris, and given by Queen Mary to the Regent, Lord Mar, from whom, by marriage, it passed into the Belhaven family. It was presented to Her Majesty by Robert, eighth Lord Belhaven and Stenton, together with (165) a lock of the Scottish Queen's hair, and (166) a purse sewn by herself, also exhibited.
168. An engraving of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley, by Elstracke. It bears the following inscriptions: "The most illustrious Prince Henry, Lord Darnley, King of Scotland, father to our sovereign lord King James. He died at the age of 21. 1567." "The most excellent Princesse Marie, Queene of Scotland, mother to our sovereign Lord King James. She died 1586, and was entombed at Westminster." This engraving does not belong to a date earlier than 1612, for the reasons given by Mr. George Scharf.
169. Oil-painting of Mary Queen of Scots, with slight variations in the inscriptions; a replica of the Blair's College portrait, No. 217 in this catalogue.
170. Portrait of Lord Darnley and his brother; and
171. An old drawing believed to represent the trial of Mary Queen of Scots.

Besides the above relics from the royal collection, there are many more lent by Scottish noblemen and others:—

176. Sir James Balfour of Burleigh contributes a ciborium and cover of copper-gilt, and most elaborately enamelled; one of the finest examples of the champlevé process of the twelfth century. A gift of Queen Mary to Sir James Balfour of Burleigh.
- 177 to 189. Tankard of agate, silver-gilt hand-bell of the Queen, and other interesting memorials.
217. The Trustees of Blair's College show the portrait of Queen Mary originally belonging to Elizabeth Curle, probably painted by Amyas Cawood from a drawing made during the Queen's lifetime, after Jane Kennedy and Elizabeth Curle had returned to France.
214. The leading-strings of James VI, worked by Mary, being broad ribbons of rose-coloured silk, richly embroidered with gold and silver thread, and bearing a legend. Lent by Lord Herries.
219. The Marquis of Ailsa lends a portrait of Queen Mary, attributed to Zuechero.
242. A miniature of her is lent by the Rev. E. Bradley. See Miss Agnes Strickland's *Mary Stuart*, cap. xiii.
243. The Duke of Hamilton sends a portrait of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, by Zuechero.

251. A medal of Mary Queen of Scots, by Primavera. See Cockran Patrick's *Catalogue of Scottish Medals*, p. 14, Pl. 1, fig. 12. Lent by D. Pearson.
- 260 to 267. There are many letters by the Laird of Rowallan on various occasions, lent by Lord Donnington, of much historical interest.
269. An autograph letter to Henry III of France, her brother-in-law, written a few hours before her execution. Lent by Alfred Morrison, who also contributed
270. Another to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, her Ambassador at the French Court, written from her prison in Sheffield, Nov. 13th, 1574.
276. A cannon-ball found during excavations in 1886 on the battlefield of Langside, on the site of the church. Lent by the Rev. John W. Ritchie.
281. The original letter of James I authorising the removal of the body of the Queen from the tomb in Peterborough Cathedral to Westminster is exhibited by the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral.
- A critical account of the portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, and their relative claims of merit and of contemporaneity, is given by Mr. George Scharf of the National Portrait Gallery Offices, Westminster, in *The Times* newspaper of 7th May and 30th Oct. 1888; and he promises to give in a concluding notice observations on the portraits painted in England, comprising the full-length picture by Cudry during her long imprisonment at Sheffield, and others taken from it, the Morton picture, the Primavera medallion, and the sculptured effigy in Westminster Abbey.
- 282 to 291, 292, 293. There are many relics of John Knox, including ten engraved portraits, his candlestick, and a watch said to have been given to him by Mary Queen of Scots when she wished to bring him over to her measures.

MEMORIALS OF SCOTLAND AFTER THE UNION OF THE CROWNS.

319. Dunbar medal of silver, bust of Cromwell to the left. Legend Word at Dunbar, "The Lord of Hosts. Septem. y^e 3, 1650." By Simon. Lent by Dr. Alexander Patterson.
327. Medal of James II, 1685, after Argyll's rebellion. Lent by W. Murray Threipland.
335. Portrait of John Balfour of Burleigh, painted on wood. Lent by Robt. Lander.
338. Portrait of the Marquis of Montrose by Jameson.
348. Proclamation of William and Mary, dated 27th Aug. 1691, indemnifying such as have been in arms before the 1st of June last, on condition of their taking the oath of allegiance before the 1st of the following January. MacDonald of Glencoe failed to take the oath within the specified time, and hence the massacre of February 1692. Lent by Matthew Shields.
370. Volume of three hundred and ten letters, chiefly from John second Earl, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, to John second Earl, afterwards Marquess of Tweeddale, 1664-72. Lent by the Mar-

quess of Tweeddale; and many royal and other letters also lent by him.

- 374. The original parchment MS. of the Confession of Faith subscribed at Glasgow in 1638, with autograph signatures. Lent by David Pullsifer *per* David Murray, LL.D.
- 377. Portrait of Alexander Henderson, the second founder of the Reformed Church of Scotland. Lent by the Duke of Hamilton.
- 383. Dark blue flag with St. Andrew's cross in corner, carried by Lesmahagow at Drumclog and Bothwell, and also carried at procession at Reform Bill passing. Preserved by the Whytes of Neuk. See Greenshield's *History of Lesmahagow*. Lent by Mrs. Napier.
- 394. Contemporary oil-painting of the battle of Bothwell Brig, by John Wyck. Lent by the Earl of Rosebery.

JACOBITE PERIOD.

- 471 to 505. An interesting collection of thirty-five medals in silver, silver-gilt, bronze, and copper-plated, relating to the royal house of Stuart. Lent by the Marquess of Bute, K.T. Many of the legends are apt and historical; for instance, a bronze medal (487) on the escape of Princess Clementine from Innsprück, 28th April 1719. *Reverse*, the Princess in a car drawn at speed by two horses; in the distance, Rome and the rising sun. "Fortunam, causamque sequor." *Evergue*, "Deceptis custodibus MDCCXIX."

Two relics of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, presented to the Prince of Wales by Elizabeth Duchess of Gordon, and lent by His Royal Highness, viz.:

- 513. A ring with this portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart on ivory, said to have been worn by him; and (514) a pair of his pocket-pistols, silver-mounted, and inlaid with gold.
- 516. Sheriff Muir, or Dunblane medal, in bronze. *Evergue*, "Ad Dunblanum, 13th Nov. 1715."
- 517. Battle of Culloden medal, in silver, commemorating the battle, 16th Aug. 1746. These two lent by Dr. Alexander Patterson.
- 532. Diamond ring of William, last Earl of Kilmarnock, beheaded in 1746. (*Trans. Glasgow Arch. Society*, 1868.) Lent by William H. Hill, LL.D.
- 554 to 556. Pictures and miniatures of the Stuart family. Lent by Miss Edgar.

SCOTTISH LITERATURE, ETC.

- 680. The Bassandyne Bible, 1576-79, the first Bible printed in Scotland. It is called the Bassandyne Bible from the name of the printer of the New Testament. The Old Testament portion was printed at Edinburgh by Alexander Arbutnot in 1579. The version is the Geneva, that popularly known as the "Breeches" Bible. Lent by Andrew Macgeorge.
- 682. The Golden Legend, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in Westminster Abbey. This book was rescued from the library of Sweetheart Abbey, which was carried to the Cross at Dumfries, and burned. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Dodds.

714. Blind Harry's Metrical History of Sir William Wallace. Perth : Morrison. 1790. 3 vols. Copy which belonged to Burns, and containing his autograph. Lent by A. C. Lamb, F.S.A.Scot.

GLASGOW AND BURGHAL RELICS.

769. Common seal of the city in use from 1789 till 1866, from the Kelvin Grove Museum.
775. The Holy Bible. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker anno 1617. From the Cathedral, Glasgow. In original binding and clasps "as sauld by James Saunderis at the Hie Kirk of Glasgow anno 1625." Lent by the Rev. G. Stuart Burns, D.D.
780. Decree (date 21st January 1742) of the Senate of Glasgow University appointing William Duke of Montrose to the office of Chancellor. Lent by the Duke of Montrose.
837. The Protestation of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Borrows, Ministers, and Commons, subscribers of the Covenant lately renewed, made in the High Kirk and at the Mercate Crosse of Glasgow, the 28th and 29th November 1638. Printed at Glasgow by George Anderson in the year of grace 1638. This is the first known printing in Glasgow. Lent by George Gray.
861. Frame containing engravings of the seals of the Bishops and Archbishops of the sec of Glasgow, old seals of the Corporation, and old varieties of the city arms. Arranged by Mr. A. Macgeorge. Lent by Andrew Macgeorge.
919. Founder's duplicate of the Mortification of Thomas Hutcheson, for the foundation and endowment of Hutcheson's School, dated 9th March 1641. With relative site by him for the further endowments of Hutcheson's Hospital and School, dated 3rd July 1641. Noticed and transcribed in History of the Hospital and School, pp. 61-64 and 249-254. Lent by William H. Hill, LL.D.
927. The ancient mace of the University of Glasgow, to which attaches a history. It is of silver, parcel-gilt. It bears the arms of the city and of Douglas of Dalkeith, as borne by the Regent Morton, the restorer of the College; the arms of Hamilton, the first endower; the arms of Scotland, and arms of Turnbull, the founder of the University. Lent by the Very Rev. Principal Caird and the Senatus of the University of Glasgow.
955. Among many bows lent by the Royal Company of Archers is one used at the battle of Flodden, 1513.
959. The loving cup of George Heriot, jeweller and goldsmith to King James VI, and founder of Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh. Born 1563, died 1623. Lent by the Governors.
985. The Marshal Staff of Scotland borne by the Earl Marischal. Presented to Marischal College in 1760 by the last Earl Marischal. Lent by the University of Aberdeen.
1016. Grant of King Robert III of a yearly payment of one hundred shillings out of the customs of Dundee to the altars of St. Mary and St. Salvator, to celebrate mass for the repose of the soul of his son David. Dated 8th February 1404-5. Lent by the Town Council of Dundee.

1038. Impressions of ancient Stirling seal *ante* thirteenth century. See Laing's *Ancient Scottish Seals*. Lent by the Town Council of Stirling.

MINIATURES, MEDALLIONS, SEALS.

- 1091 to 1116. Collection of miniatures formed by H.R.H. the Princess Charlotte, and sold after her death. The collection lent by Stuart Dawson.
- 1138 to 1169. Miniature of Annabella Drummond, Queen of Robert III, and many other miniatures. Lent by the Baroness Willoughby D'Eresby.
- 1163 to 1172. Impressions of some of the seals of Bishops of Glasgow. Lent by Thos. Boston.
1173. Seal of the Chapter of Glasgow, A.D. 1180. Lent by T. Boston.
1174. Another, A.D. 1280. Lent by T. Boston.
1176. Common seal of Glasgow, A.D. 1542. Lent by T. Boston.

CHARMS, INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE, ETC.

1201. The Glenorchy Charm-Stone of Breadalbane. This charm is first mentioned in the *Black Book of Taymouth*, wherein it is described as "ane stone of the quantity of half a hens eg, set in silver, being flatt at the ane end, and round at the uther end, lyke a peir, whilk Sir Colin Campbell, first Laird of Glenurehy, woir when he fought in battell at the Rhodes agaynst the Turks, he being ane of the Knychtis of the Rhodes", *circa* 1449. Lent by the Marquis of Breadalbane.

ARTS, ARMS, DRESS, FURNITURE, ETC.

1240. Highland bagpipe, Celtic ornamentation. The bag and blow-pipe are modern. (See Drummond's *Ancient Scottish Weapons*.) Lent by Robert Glen.
1359. Charter by King Alexander III in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, 1277. Lent by Sir Arthur Halket, Bart.
1471. A trophy of Highland weapons. In the centre a Highland target of wood and leather, with central boss pierced for a spike, and a two-handed sword with scabbard, said to have been used by Stewart of Ardvorlich. Lent by Col. Stewart, C.I.S.R.A.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

1547. Charter of Alexander II in favour of William Cumming of Lenzie, 22 Sept. 1214. Lent by John William Burns.
1551. The Declinator and Protestation of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Church of Scotland against the pretended General Assembly holden at Glasgow, Nov. 21st, 1638. London, 1639. Printed by Royal Authority, with contemporary marginal annotations. Lent by David Murray, LL.D.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Bookworm; an Illustrated Treasury of Old-Time Literature. (London: Stock, 1888.)—We fervently hope that this work, which was originally published in parts, will be continued year by year, until all that can be written about books in as interesting a manner as the contents of this volume has been written. The essays are numerous and critical. Interspersed are original treatises, quotations, anecdotes, and bibliographical paragraphs; the whole forming a quaint and piquant gathering of pieces not one of which can fail to interest the attention of the antiquarian book-lover. Such a work as this has long been wanted, and it is a matter of much praise both to editor and publisher that so charming a work has been produced for the delectation of the reader. Some day, perhaps, a frequenter of the Library of the British Museum may find a means of doing with the manuscripts therein contained what has here been done for printed books; the harvest would even be greater, but the reaping has yet to be done. This present work, however, foreshadows how much of exceeding interest can be got out of old libraries.

Yorkshire Legends and Traditions, as told by her Ancient Chroniclers, her Poets, and Journalists. By the Rev. THOS. PARKINSON. (London: Stock, 1888.)—This is an attractive book, and well deserves a place on the drawing-room table or in the study of every romantic reader, not only in the county, but in the kingdom. The contents are not for the most part new, nor do they profess to be; but they have been judiciously selected and carefully compiled, in a manner which lends additional interest to the narratives as we read them. Yorkshire appears to have been especially favoured by the supernatural, and many of the most notable of our legends and traditions take their origin within the limits of the county. Hence Mr. Parkinson has had a rich mine from which to draw his materials. Books like these are a welcome relief to the matter-of-fact "County History". They do not supersede their older brethren, but they embellish them and set them off. They act also as an appendix to the folios of last century, and frequently, as in the present instance, help to perfect the local narrative and to carry it to a nearer limit of time, by recording matters which have come to light since the days of county historians.

A History of Maidstone.—It is proposed (provided a sufficient

number of subscribers be obtained) to publish in the course of the ensuing summer, in one octavo volume, price 7s. 6d., a few copies on larger paper at 10s. 6d., *A History of the Parish Church of Maidstone*, comprising a full account of its architectural features and its monuments; a biographical sketch of the successive rectors, wardens of the college, curates, and vicars, from the earliest period to the present time; an account of the church registers, with extracts from them; an account of the ancient "Hospital" of Archbishop Boniface, known as the "New Work", or "Newark", with its chapel (still partly preserved in the chancel of St. Peter's Church), and its succession of wardens, till eventually absorbed into the College of All Saints; the arrival of the Walloons, their connection with St. Faith's Church, etc.; with an appendix containing the original charters, etc., bearing upon the several points of the history. By J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., Vicar of Detling, author of *Lambeth Palace and its Associations*, etc.

By-ways in Book-Land: Short Essays on Literary Subjects. By W. DAVENPORT ADAMS. (London: Stock, 1888.)—This is one of the dainty little volumes that Mr. Stock is so frequently preparing for the popular taste, which has very much improved under his care. The author tells us: "He leaves the highways of literature, and strays into the fields and lanes, picking here a flower and there a leaf, and not going far at any time." By this means he has gathered an airy, bright, crisp, and natural garland of prose and poetry intertwined, which we may all read without tiring; and there is just sufficient antiquarian element in the notices of Queen Elizabeth, Shakespeare, Garrick, and some other personages, to warrant this short reference to the book in this section of our *Journal*.

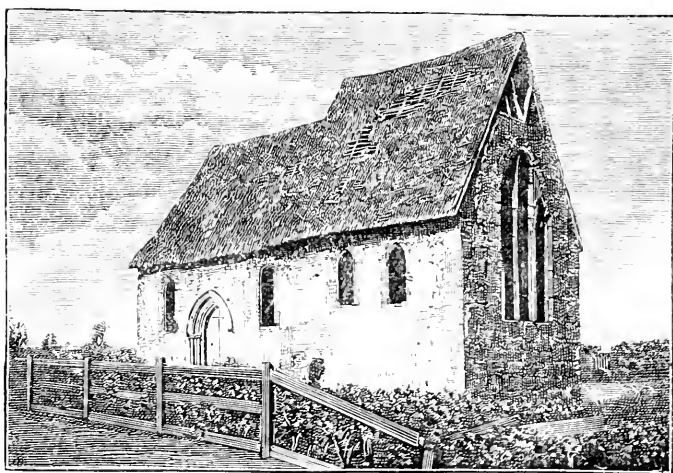
St. Nicholas Chapel, Coggeshall, Essex: an Appeal for Funds for its Preservation.—The subjoined woodcut represents the present ruined condition of a little chapel built by the monks of the Cistercian order about 700 years ago. It is the westernmost of the remains of the Abbey founded at Coggeshall, about 1140, by King Stephen and Mand his Queen, the latter then being, as the heiress of the house of Boulogne, the possessor of the lordship of Coggeshall.

Holman, writing more than a century and a half ago, and quoting from the *Villare Esserice*, says that "Little Coggeshall was formerly reputed a parish, and had two churches; the one built by the abbot for himself and monks, and stood in the field called the Parke on the left side of the Abbey, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is entirely demolished. The other was built for the inhabitants of this hamlet, and stands on the left hand of the lane leading from the King's Highway to the Abbey, and not far from it; it is called the Chapel of

Little Coggeshall, and is now converted into a barn or hay-house, and most of it is existing at this day."

Whether the church secondly referred to and illustrated below was the parish church of Little Coggeshall, as some have contended, or was built for the inhabitants of that parish by the monks, as stated in the *Villare Essexiæ*, seems open to question. The opinion is that it corresponds with the chapel shown on the plan of the monastic establishment of Citeaux, as close to the gate-house.

The plan of the building is of a simple quadrilateral design, without aisles or transept, and measures from east to west, 43 feet; and from north to south, 20 feet. It is constructed of rubble, consisting principally of flints and fragments of early English brick, while the coigns and dressings are of bricks, varying from an inch and a half to



two inches in thickness, and being about twelve inches by six inches in length and breadth. It is considered a remarkable example of Early English brickwork, and especial attention is directed to the mouldings of the bricked mullions of the east and west windows. It is one of the earliest instances, if not the earliest, of moulded brickwork in the kingdom.

The walls rest upon a concrete bed, and are about three feet thick, and it would seem were originally coated with plaster or stucco both inside and outside. The building is entered by a door on the south side near the west end. On each side of the door is a lancet-window, with exterior dimensions 6 ft. 4 in. high and 2 ft. broad, splaying inward to a height of 8 ft. and a breadth of 4 ft. 7 in. There are two other windows on the south side, but their sills are elevated, to give height to the sedilia and piscina. In the north wall there are four

lancet-windows, similar to those east and west of the doorway, while the windows in the east and west walls are triple-lancets within a containing arch.

Round the interior of the chapel, just beneath the windows, there is a stringcourse composed of semicircular faced bricks projecting about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., each of which is about 12 in. long by 2 in. in thickness. At the east end of the south wall the string rises and runs along the top of the sedilia, three in number, the arches of which are composed of brick, and spring from limestone supports. To the east of and adjoining the sedilia is an arched recess, and there were formerly the remains of two square drains pierced through the bricks which formed its sill. This recess was doubtless a double piscina. Between it and the east wall is a niche, 23 in. wide, 2 ft. 6 in. high, and recessed about 13 in., formed of limestone, and having a trefoil-shaped arch-heading. It is still in good preservation, and most probably served as the credence. The aumbry, with its new oak sill and top, restored as far as was practicable to its original state, is to be seen in the north wall near the east end. A small part of the original moulded oak wall-plate, with its somewhat singular stop, remains at the east end of the north wall. The roof is high-pitched and thatched, the eastern half being raised slightly above the other portion.

The plastering of the interior above the stringcourse was relieved by colouring of a simple character, consisting of double chocolate one-eighth inch lines three-eighths of an inch apart. These ran round the building at horizontal intervals of five inches, divided vertically so as to represent stonework. The pattern may still be seen, and there may yet be traced the emerald green which gave colour to the stringcourse, and there is enough of the flowing foliage pattern which filled the spaces between the lancets and containing-arch of the east window to show its Early English character. In the upper part of the central seat of the sedilia there remains part of the original cruciform nimbus of reddish colour.

Many years ago this sacred building was converted into a barn, part of the south wall being removed and a wing attached. This unsightly addition was demolished shortly after the conveyance of the building was made to the Vicar of Coggeshall, the late Rev. William James Dampier, who partly restored it, and his successors in the vicarage. During this partial restoration, fragments of coloured glass, pieces of the Purbeck marble shafts of the sedilia and part of the font or of the stoup were found; also the base of the font; and with these remains were associated pieces of the pavement, which was of tile, coloured black, yellow, or buff, and green. Some of the pavements form the step of the doorway, but the colouring is destroyed.

No step will be taken in the work of restoration except under the advice of a competent ecclesiastical architect.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Rev. H. M. Patch, Vicar of Coggeshall, or to George Frederick Beaumont, Churchwarden.

The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains found in Repairing the North Wall of the City of Chester. A Series of Papers, etc., edited by J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A. Manchester: Alexander Ireland and Co. 1888.—The interest excited by the discovery of so many interesting Roman remains in the north wall of the city of Chester in 1887 will be revived by the publication of the little book with the above title, of which Mr. J. P. Earwaker, the Editorial Secretary of the Chester Archæological Society, is the Editor. The Council of that Society, thinking that many persons outside of their list of members would be interested in the remains which were found at Chester, authorised Mr. Earwaker to have a small edition printed separately of the various papers on these remains which were read before the Chester Society in 1887 and 1888. These papers are as follows: the official report of the City Surveyor, Mr. J. Matthews Jones; the late Mr. Thompson Watkin's account of the inscriptions discovered in the first series of repairs to the north wall; Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock's long paper on the age of the walls of Chester, with reference to recent discussions; and Mr. W. de Gray Birch's account of the inscribed stones found during the second series of repairs to the north wall. These four very interesting and carefully worked out papers are supplemented by the reprint of the paper read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch before the Society of Antiquaries on the so called "Ecclesiastical Stone", and by the long discussion which followed the reading of Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock's paper on the age of the Chester walls. In this discussion the following well known antiquaries took part: Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, Sir James A. Picton, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, and Mr. F. Hodgkin; and their remarks are given in full, together with Mr. Brock's reply.

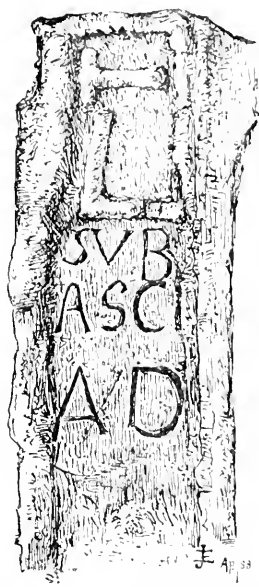
In order to enable all his readers to follow the discussion which has taken place on the vexed question as to whether the north wall of Chester is of Roman or of mediæval origin, Mr. Earwaker has, with the permission of the Council, reprinted the two papers read some time ago by Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, "The City Walls of Chester, is any Part of them Roman?" and "Deva, its Walls and Streets; or Chester in the Time of the Romans", in which his well-known views as to the *mediæval* origin of the Chester walls are very fully given. Mr. Earwaker has also very considerably added a full historical introduction.

There are thirteen full-page plates of the principal inscribed and monumental stones found, with five other folding diagrams and plates, to illustrate the papers. Mr. Brock has a plate of the tool-marks on the Roman stones, in which a dozen stones are sketched; and the plates

illustrating the tombstone of a Roman centurion and his wife, that of Aurelius Lucius, a Roman horse-soldier, that of Hermagoras, and those of the two Roman standard-bearers, are especially to be commended. These illustrations have all been made directly from the stones themselves, and have been carefully compared with the originals before being used, and we are confident that they will be much admired not only for their fidelity to the originals, but also for the undoubted artistic spirit which they show.



Chester.—Roman Sculpture.



Chester.—Roman Sculpture and Inscription.

All the inscribed and monumental stones which were found in the north wall, together with the more important of the remains of Roman buildings, etc., are now placed in the new Grosvenor Museum of Chester, where they make a remarkably fine collection, which is sure to be largely visited. The number of inscribed Roman stones, independently of altars, found in Chester during the past three hundred years, has now risen from five to thirty-two, no less than *twenty-seven* having been found in the two series of repairs to the north wall in 1887.

In his historical introduction the Editor strongly urges upon the Corporation of Chester the advisability of having the remainder of the wall on the north side of the city carefully examined, and all the inscribed and other Roman stones removed from it, and their inscriptions made public. We would cordially endorse this suggestion, and hope that the Corporation will see their way to undertake this work.

Large paper copies at 21s., and small paper at 12s. 6d. each, may be had from Mr. Earwaker, Pensarn, Abergele, North Wales.

NOTES ON SOME SCULPTURED STONES IN VARIOUS CHURCHES VISITED DURING THE DAR- LINGTON CONGRESS, 1888.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Concluded from p. 179.*)

THE accompanying plates represent most of the sculptured stones which have been already described. Nos. 1 and 2 are in the Church of St. Cuthbert, Darlington.

No. 1 represents a portion of a sepulchral figure of rare form, to which the name hog-backed has been bestowed by some antiquaries. Length, 26 in.; 11 in. high at the foot. It may be compared with that at Heysham Church, Lancashire, described in the *Journal*, xlii, p. 83, by J. Romilly Allen, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., as well as represented in Mr. Cutts' book, to which reference has already been made.

No. 2 is the head of a cross shaft. The pattern is an early one, and the execution is rough. The central boss projects, as on Irish examples; but the workmanship is irregular, and the stone is much injured, owing to its use during so many years as a walling-stone in the mediæval church. Size, 15 in. across; 22 in. high.

These examples have been drawn by J. P. Pritchett, Esq.

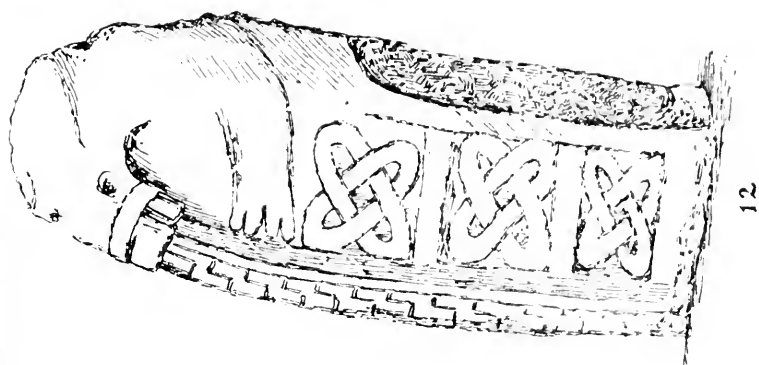
Nos. 3 to 12 are in the church at Dinsdale-on-Tees.

Nos. 3 and 4 are the heads of the two crosses mentioned in the previous article; the height of No. 3 being 19 in., and 15 in. wide. No. 4 is 13 in.; width, $12\frac{1}{4}$ in. Two doves face another in the portion of stem which remains.

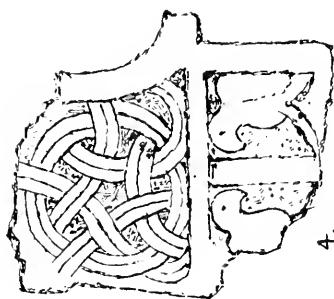
No. 5 is portion of a shaft on which are the lower parts of two human figures, and a pattern of interlaced work; height, 12 in.; width, $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. No. 6, part of another shaft, is 19 in. long, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. No. 7 is 5 in. wide; No. 8, 12 in. by 5 in.; No. 9, 14 in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. No. 10 is also portion of a shaft, with what appears to be the commencement of a circular-headed termination. Since this is built into the wall of the modern porch, like the other sculptures, only one face is visible. No. 11 is the Greek cross described in the text. It is $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $11\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The method of working the surfaces by means of a pick is very apparent in Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 8. All are on the east side of the porch wall, except Nos. 9 and 11, which are on the west side.

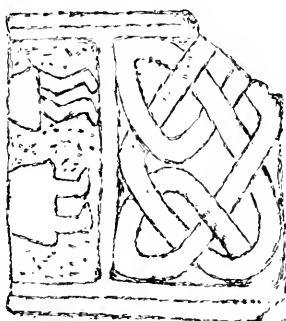
The standing shaft in the churchyard is not figured; its head may be either No. 3 or No. 4.



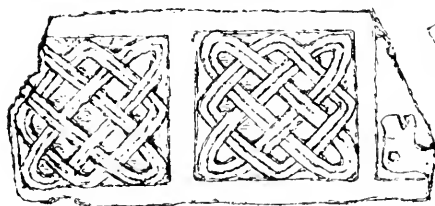
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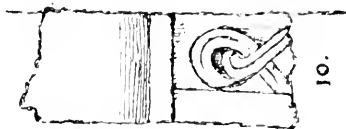
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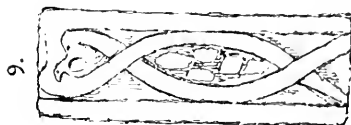
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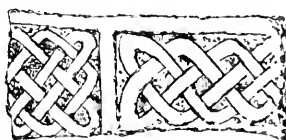
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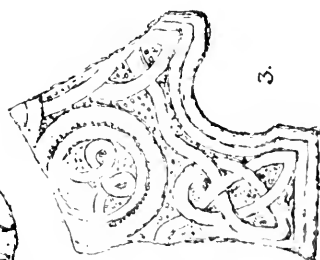
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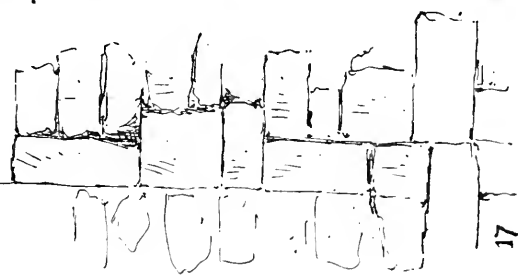
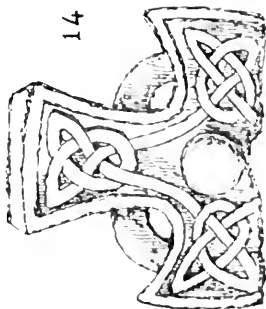
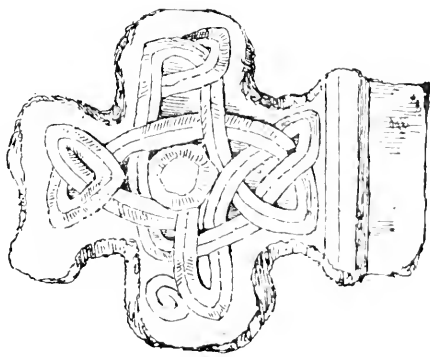
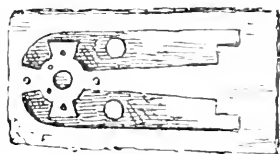
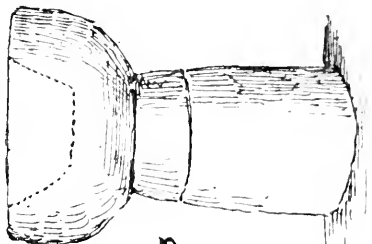
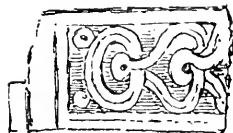
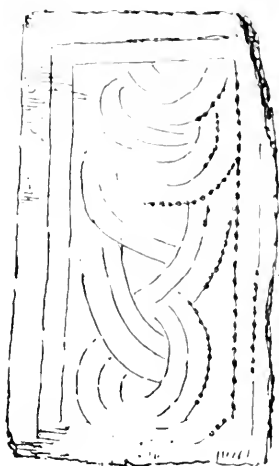
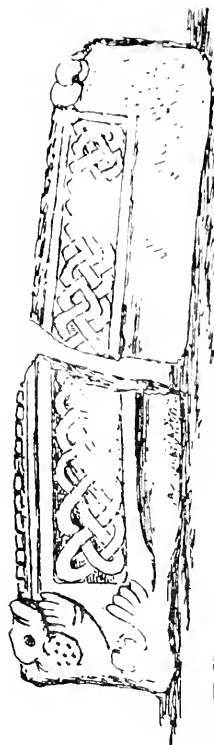


3.



11.





15

16

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17

14

19



Within the church, No. 12 represents the broken, hog-backed sepulchral figure. It is 3 ft. 7 in. long in its imperfect state, and 1 ft. 2 in. high at the foot. The font is shown by No. 13.

Examples of the numerous sculptured stones at Sockburn Church are shown by Nos. 14, 15, and 16.

No. 16 is a hog-backed stone which may be compared with those already given. Rare as are these figures, of which prior to the last few years that at Heysham was almost the only known specimen, yet Nos. 1, 12, and 16 indicate the existence of three specimens in the churches of adjoining parishes in the case of Dinsdale and Sockburn, to which places Darlington is contiguous, or nearly so. Total length, 4 ft. 7 in.; height at foot, 13 in. It is preserved at Sockburn Hall, but it was placed within the church with the other sculptures on the occasion of the visit of the party.

The head of the cross with a boss is shown by No. 14, height 17 in., width 16 in. It must have been a very fine specimen. No. 15 is a portion of a curious shaft 9 in. square, the pattern shown being on one side, a figure-pattern on another, a flowing device on the third, while the fourth is quite plain. No. 17 shows a portion of the pilaster strip at the south-west angle of the ruined nave, on which a north aisle abuts. The strips are of white stone against dull red.

The little cross slab at Escomb is shown by No. 18. Its small size recalls the still smaller Donfrith slab now preserved in the vestry of Wensley Church.

The example of interlaced work at Croft Church is figured in Mr. Pritchett's article, p. 242.

The curious example of the mode in which the interlaced patterns were formed, referred to in the text, is shown by No. 19, an unfinished slab at Middleham Church. The lines show the pattern scratched on, and the dots are the pick-marks upon the lines, showing the manner in which the mason proceeded to execute his device. The height is 26 in., width 15 in.

* * * The sculptured stones at St. Andrew's, Auckland, are omitted from the above, since a separate paper is promised upon them, with illustrations, by J. P. Pritchett, Esq. The Thornton Steward Cross will form the subject of a separate article.

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